National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment....Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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SELECTIONS.

From The (London) Standard of Freedom.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND AMERICAN PARSONS.

The sum of all villanies, wrote John Wesley, is American Slavery. He had God's word with him when he said that. Practical Christianity has gone everywhere to heal temporal as well as spiritual ill. It has been a living power for good. It has burst the letters of the slave, and has made him stand erect on God's free universe—a man and a brother, not a chattel to be bought and sold, used or abused.

In America, the land of the free and the slave, they manage these things differently. Holy men—men of prayer—ministers of the Highest—teachers of that charter of human rights, the Gospel of gladtidings—not only do not brand Slavery as a burning curse and shame, but actually frown at the men who would fain wipe the disgrace of it from their soil. In 1843 the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, who, forty years before, declared Slavery was a "sin," and slave-holders sinners, resolved that the Assembly do not think it fit, for the edification of the Church, for the body to take any action on the subject of Slavery; and the Rev. Dr. Cox, who was present on the occasion, "thanked God that their Vesuvius was capped for the next three years." A little while before, the Methodist Episcopal Church resolved that they wholly disclaimed any right, wish, or intention, to interfere with the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slaveholding States of the Union. The Protestant Episcopalian Church boasts of not having been disturbed by the Anti-Slavery Agitation. Several of their churches are under colored ministers, but the Episcopal Convention has steadily refused to admit them into its body. According to the testimony of the Rev. W. G. Keppart, of the Methodist American Missionary Association—

	Slaves.
The Methodist hold	219,563
Presbyterians (old and new school)	77,000
Baptists	125,000
Campbellites	101,000
Episcopalians	88,000
Other Denominations	50,000
Total owned by ministers of the Gospel and members of Protestant Churches	660,563

Thus, valuing a slave at £80, we get a capital of £52,845,040 invested by Christian people in the bodies and souls of men. But this is not all. Not merely have bodies thus perpetuated Slavery, but individual clergymen have stamped the accursed thing with the mark of their approbation. The Rev. Dr. Parker, in a recent thanksgiving sermon, says, "that there were no evils in Slavery but such as were inseparable from every other relation in social and civil life;" and the Rev. Dr. Smythe of Charleston, a slaveholder, when performing the marriage ceremony between slaves, uniformly omits the passage, "whom God has joined together let no man put asunder."

To perpetuate Slavery, the Americans passed a Fugitive Slave Law. Surely this was carrying the thing too far, even for ministerial consciences and pious men. Against this law, at any rate, they would protest. Quite the contrary; they are delighted with it. On no account would they disturb the peace of the Union to get it done away with.—True, it requires, under heavy penalties, that the inhabitants of the Free States should not only refuse food and shelter to a starved and human being and spurn him from their doors, but should assist, if required by the authorities, to seize that fugitive and send him back to Slavery, True, the Bible tells us to do to others as we would have others do to us; but then to this rule there are exceptions, when the colored man is concerned. True the Bible says, "Thou shalt not steal;" but it does not say a brutal white man may not steal human blood and bones when the skin that covers them is of a sable hue; and accordingly such orthodox divines teach it wrong to aid the slave in his efforts to escape. The Fugitive Bill is no remnant of the barbarism of earlier days. It shows what is American feeling now upon the subject; it forces the simple question upon the individual conscience of every inhabitant of the Free States: Am I to destroy the natural instinct of humanity, and refuse to help the slave in distress? Am I to hand over a human creature to the chains, to the lash, to the grave,—to a master who will part him from his wife and children—who will deny his right to happiness in this world and the next—who will sink him lower and lower in degradation—who will be more merciless to him than to the ox or the ass that till the soil,—to a master whose cruelty only terminates with life? The Fugitive Slave Bill to each individual puts this question—"Am I to obey God's law or man's?" The answer given by American clergymen is, Obey man rather than God. We blush for them, for ourselves, for the race whose tongue they speak, and whose sacred faith they blaspheme; but let British Christians understand this; let the Evangelical Alliance, where resolutions on the subject of Slavery, after prayer and fasting, were quashed; aye! shame on such an holy (query unholy?) alliance, quashed. Let the Evangelical Alliance understand this. Let them not plead ignorance of the damning spot which, in spite of prayer and outward godliness, and strictest orthodoxy, eats out the heart of American Christianity, and makes it a scorn and a reproach, and an offence, all the world over. We do not speak without book. Thus do American divines write the Fugitive Slave Law.

The Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring, an eminent Presbyterian clergyman, of New York, well-known in this country for his religious writings, lately declared from the pulpit, that, "If by one prayer he could liberate every slave in the world, he would not dare to offer it."

Rev. Moses Stuart, D.D., late Professor in the Theological College of Andover, in his vindication of the bill, reminds his readers, that "many southern slaveholders are *true Christians!* that sending back a fugitive to them, is not like restoring one to an idolatrous people; that though we may pity the fugitive, yet the Mosaic law does not authorise the rejection of the claims of the slaveholders to their stolen or strayed *property*."

Rev. Orville Dewey, D.D., of the Unitarian connection, asserts, that it is a duty to return fugitives, and he would send his own brother or child into Slavery rather than that the Union between the Free and Slave States should be dissolved.

The Rev. D. Spencer, of Brooklyn, New York, published a sermon, entitled the "Religious Duty of Obedience to the Laws," which has elicited the highest encomiums from Dr. Samuel H. Cox, the Presbyterian minister of Brooklyn [notorious, both in this country and America, for his sympathy with the slaveholder], and also from the Hon. Daniel Webster, who says that "it is quite refreshing to read a production which, founding itself upon the express injunction of the Holy Scriptures, goes back from theory to commandment—from human hypothesis and speculation to the declared will of God."

The Rev. W. M. Rogers, an orthodox minister of Boston, delivered, on the last Thanksgiving-day, a sermon, in which he says: "When the slave asks me to stand between him and his master, what does he ask? He asks me to murder a nation's life; and I will not do it because I have a conscience—because there is a God." He proceeds to affirm that if this resistance to the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave-Law should lead the magistracy to call the the citizens to arms, their duty was to obey; and, "if ordered to take human life, in the name of God to take it." And he concludes by admonishing the fugitives to "hearken to the word of God, and to count their own masters worthy of all honor."

The Rev. William Crowell, of Waterfield, State of Maine, has printed a Thanksgiving sermon of the same kind, in which he calls upon his hearers not to allow "excessive sympathies for a few hundred fugitives to blind them so as that they may risk increased suffering to the millions already in chains."

The Rev. Dr. Taylor, an episcopal clergyman, of New Haven, Connecticut, made a speech, at a late Union meeting, in which he deprecates the agitation upon the new law, and urges obedience to it, asking, "Is that article in the Constitution contrary to the law of Nature, of nations, or to the will of God?—Is it so? Is there a shadow of reason for saying it? I have not been able to discover it. Have I not shown you it *is* lawful to deliver up, in compliance with their laws, fugitive slaves, for the high, the great, the momentous interests of those [southern] States?"

This, then is the position of affairs. In America the Church might liberate the slave. It holds the key of the dungeon. But it abdicates its lofty mission. It bears no indignant testimony against the curse. It fearfully panders to men's sins. It acts the part of an accomplice in crime. For the sake of the slaveowner's smile, it robes itself in infamy; and, appareled in its shame, challenges the approbation of the world. American ministers come over here to promote revivals of religion. If they cannot speak out at home, they had better retire into solitude and be dumb. If Christians in America are silent, there is greater need that British Christians should give utterance to their sorrow and indignation and shame. In America even British opinion is felt, and British censure feared. Public opinion in England has not been concentrated and brought to bear on America respecting the fugitive slave bill as it might, but we must no longer keep silence.—We must plead the cause of the slave; we must ask Americans to be human—to abandon the lash and the chain—to let the black man be free as themselves. We shall have Americans flock to our shores this summer. We gave no welcome to the Austrian Haynau; why make an exception in favor of American Haynaus? In the spirit of a true chivalry let us show our abhorrence of the flogger of black women as well as white ones. Let us have no smile—no kind word—no warm greeting for the slaveholder or the friend of slaveholders. Let us show that all robbery is hateful to us, whether it be of goods or men; and bright as may be the slaveowner's gold, and unctious as may be his religious phraseology, and godly his outward deportment, let him see that we know his ill-gotten wealth does not ring like genuine metal, and that his Christian words will not stand the test of Christian deeds—but we stop—we sicken of our subject. The American Christians makes us think of the blood and sweat of the slave—of the African torn from his country—of wrong borne all a dreary life. To the old Hebrew Testament we turn when worn and weary, for it tells of hope, of peace—of a better land where there is no sorrow and sin; but the American translation—faugh—it is stained with tears and blood. In vain we read aught divine there. It is clotted with human gore!

From The (London) Inquirer

MORE TROPHIES OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

Two more fugitive slaves, driven from the United States, have arrived at Liverpool by one of the line of packet ships, from Boston. One of them bears with him the following touching document from Willam Lloyd Garrison:

"Boston, March 4, 1851.

"I commend the bearer of this, Francis S. Anderson, a poor, hunted, fugitive American slave, to the sympathy and kind consideration of the philanthropic and Christian people of England. Notwithstanding his amiable spirit, his upright deportment, his good intelligence, his capacity for usefulness, his Christain profession, and his connection with a Christian church as a most exemplary member thereof, on no part of the American soil, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, is he permitted to live as a rational and accountable being! Though created in the Divine image, and desirous of 'glorifying God in his body and spirit, which are his,' he is held by the laws of the country as a chattel personal; the property of another, and can avoid that terrible doom only by a clandestine flight from the land of his nativity. The present is a dark and perilous hour for all fugitive slaves still remaining in America. The whole power of the National Government is concentrating for their re capture, banishment, or extermination. Houseless, pennyless, every white person forbidden by heavy penalties to give them either shelter or food, they are fleeing in every direction, filled with terror, anguish and despair, and experiencing much bodily suffering. Oh, the guilt of Christian, republican America.

"Wm. Lloyd Garrison."

The poor fellow who bears the above, escaped from Slavery six years ago, and has ever since been a resident in the "Free States," earning a respectable living as a waiter, till thus compelled to leave the country, or be carried back again to bondage.

The other fugitive has known the blessings of freedom only two years. He knows, he says, something of the coopering trade, but would be thankful to get employment of any kind which would enable him to obtain an honest living, and provide a home for the wife and child whom he has left behind. He bears the following letter from the Rev. Samuel May, of Boston, (known to our readers as an active and prominent member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society), addressed to the Rev. Francis Bishop, of Liverpool:

"Boston March 4, 1851.

"Dear Sir,—The bearer, Alexander Duvall, has solicited from me a letter of introduction to any one in your town or neighborhood who will befriend or help him, and I hope you will excuse me in commending him to you. He has just fled to our city from New Bedford, where he has been living a short time, having fled from Slavery in Baltimore. He says that a few days since he saw his owner in New Bedford, and fearful that he was in search of him, he left the city as soon as he possibly could. Feeling that there is no longer a protection or a home for him and his in the land, he purposes embarking for England in a ship which leaves this port to-morrow, and hopes to find a place and opportunity to earn a livelihood in your land. He leaves a wife and one child in New Bedford (not in danger of the slave-catchers, I understand), who must remain there for the present.

* * * * *

"We are in a sad state here, with the fugitives flying from Boston in every direction, save southward. Will not the favor and blessing of God depart from us, when the poor and the needy can find no place and protection among us? As yet we have reason to be thankful no fugitive has been taken *from Massachusetts*, into Slavery, and we trust in His Providence and help that none shall be."

* * * * *

The *Liverpool Mercury*, of Tuesday, says, "The two poor men who have thus sought liberty and protection on English ground are, we regret to find, in an almost penniless condition; and no wonder, for the Abolitionists of Boston must have to divide their charities amongst so many hunted fugitives, that when the passage money has been paid, in cases like the present, there can be but little left for subsequent necessities. Both the fugitives are anxious to proceed to London, thinking that there they will be more likely to obtain employment than in the country. We have been requested, and shall be very glad, to take charge of any subscriptions that may help them forward, and give them the means of living for a few weeks, till they can find work, as they are evidently most anxious to do, and so maintain themselves.

PRO-SLAVERY.

From the Journal of Commerce.

The Triumph of Law.—When the Abolitionists of Massachusetts first proclaimed that the Fugitive Slave Law should never be executed in that State, we told our friends here unhesitatingly, that it could be executed there, and would be, if circumstances should require it. We told them that we knew Massachusetts better than they did, having resided in different parts of it for twenty-five years. When subsequently the case of Crafts occurred, and afterwards that of Shadrach, we began to think that we might possibly be mistaken. The case of Sims, however, and its results, have restored our confidence in the law-abiding character of the people, and made us again proud of our native State. We know well that they dislike Slavery; so do we. Who at the North does not dislike it? But that is not the question.

From the Albany Register.

The fugitive slave Sims has been delivered up in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution. While we pity the hard lot which consigns him to bondage, we rejoice in the vindication of the majesty of the laws. It is better that a man should be returned to his master, than the compact of Union should be violated, a nation arrested in its onward progress, and consigned to anarchy and civil war. The rigors of Slavery were not increased by the formation of the Union, and they would not be diminished by its dissolution. To protect a few fugitives from recapture, might benefit them, but would entail greater woes upon millions. We rejoice that the authorities and people of Boston have vindicated their character as a law-loving and law-abiding people.

From the Philadelphia Bulletin.

Law Triumphant in Boston.—We have never had more satisfaction than that experienced in announcing the result of the late Fugitive Slave Case in Boston. Not that we rejoice in the return of a fellow-being to bondage; but that the Constitution and the laws of the United States have been sustained in a city where fanaticism, with the motto of a "higher law," was supposed to predominate over all obedience to the written law of the land.

We rejoice at this triumph of the law in Boston—a city which is endeared to all Americans by so many associations, and which, despite of disunion sentiments, we would not willingly spare from our Union. Throughout the length and breadth of this Union, the tidings that the law has triumphed in Boston, will be carried on the wings of the lightning; giving new confidence to patriots, North and South, in the strength and permanency of our confederacy. And abroad, where the false conclusions of previous cases have sounded like omens of the downfall of the Republic, the report of the acquiescence in the law, on this most exciting case of all, will confound and astonish the Anti-Republican croakers. It is not less a moral lesson than it is a political lesson. May the whole world profit by it.

From the Boston Courier.

The reckless and unprincipled disorganizers who have been so long laboring to disturb the public peace, have received the most mortifying and confounding rebuke by this miscarriage of their last grand effort. It is now certain that they have not the power to delude one in a hundred of our population into the mad design of obstructing by force a law of the United States. They will doubtless continue to talk in their usual fashion, but a constable's pole will be sufficient to cut short any designs they may entertain to act in accordance with their seditious threats. The gentleman who spoke of tearing up rails and cramming his pockets with pistols, will only be laughed at should he repeat his gasconade.

The Mayor and other city authorities have acquitted themselves of their duty in the handsomest manner during the whole of this exciting and harassing business. The military and the citizens generally, have shown the most manly and noble spirit in their determination to maintain the laws and the public peace. Boston is sound to the heart's core in her attachment to the Union and the Constitution.

From the Philadelphia Ledger.

The Boston Excitement Over.—The excitement in Boston has ended, as every rational minded man could desire, in the vindication of the law. The man Sims was proved to be a fugitive, and to those who regard the authority of the law there was but one course to pursue—to hand him over to his claimant. This was done, and notwithstanding that the agitators of disunion threatened to "interpose their bodies" to prevent the surrender of the slave, they prudently kept at a distance when the law came to be executed. This is generally the way that all counsellors of sedition act. They are valiant enough in speech, but when their fierce declamation stirs up rebellion, they manage to sneak out of the contest themselves, and it is fortunate if their dupes are equally as successful in escaping the consequences of their treason. In this particular instance, the good sense of the people of Massachusetts was proof against such bad counsel, and the handful of agitators who exhorted to violence and bloodshed, and wished to see their townsmen slaughtering each other, found themselves left in a minority, which, while it exposes the insignificancy of their numbers compared with their noise, shows most honorably for the intelligence and patriotism of the people.

From the New York Express.

The Law in Boston has been so beautifully vindicated,—that the city of old Faneuil Hall merits the highest encomium. If compacts were the rotten bonds,—and liberty the lawlessness that the abolitionists would have established there, we would have despaired of old Massachusetts. As it is, the Constitution has been triumphant and law has prevailed. The spectacle has been one of which a nation may be proud,—and which will do us the highest honor over sea, in demonstrating that we are a people who keep our faith, and that no Popular impulse, or Popular opinion, can over-ride the Constitution and the Law.

Perhaps nothing could have been asked of Boston more distasteful than the surrender of a runaway slave, but the city authorities, the courts there, the police, the public, have not asked what they liked, but what was their duty, and that duty they have faithfully discharged. What gives importance to this case, apart from the deference it exhibits for Law, is, that in the Law Courts both of the States and of the United States, the Abolitionists have been allowed full swing in the exercise of all their legal quibbles and their legal ingenuity, and that they have been beaten in them all. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has unanimously decided against them. The United States District Court has decided against them. The Commissioner of the United States has decided against them. They have not a legal point to stand upon, in the case of another runaway from the South. The opinion of Mr. Curtis, the Commissioner, is a very able legal opinion of great length, full of learning. So also we may say of the opinion of Chief Justice Shaw on the right to a Habeas Corpus.

The Mayor of Boston and Marshal Tukey have our especial admiration for the faithfulness and fearlessness with which they have done duty, in the face of a mob, that threatened death to them all, and whose orators preached Treason and Murder. Marshal Tukey is a prize for any city. He ought to be a Field Marshal before he dies.

Law! Law!! Law!!! The whole pivot of this Government turns upon this word Law. Where Law is not obeyed, Life and Property cannot exist but a very short time free from all sorts of peril.—Boston has shown to the world that, even in a case of personal liberty, the Law prevailed amidst the most violent passions and the most rancorous hostility. It is triumphs of the Law like these, that make us feel the true grandeur of the glorious country we live in.

One thing worthy of remark in this case is, that the Abolitionists, who on Boston Common advised people to arm and murder their fellow men, finally, when their courage had oozed out, took to profanity in what they call "Prayer." Their "prayers" are just as impious as their exhortations to arm and to bloodshed. To the hypocrisy of the sneak they add the disgrace of the coward.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

This result, though it cannot be appealed to in proof of a spirit of subordination and obedience to the laws, *in all our citizens*, has demonstrated satisfactorily that those who have insisted that a law of the Union, regularly and constitutionally enacted, cannot be executed in this State, were mistaken. The case has proved, it is true, the pertinacity of a portion of our citizens in their opposition to this law. But it has proved at the same time, that an opposition, persisted in, in all practical forms, has been, and must continue to be, fruitless. It has demonstrated two important facts, upon which a portion of the community professed to entertain doubts, viz: that the constitutionality of the law is sustained by all our legal tribunals, and that a vast majority of our citizens of all classes are determined to support the Constitution and laws, in spite of such appeals and exhortations as have been addressed to them, in the hope of exciting them to resistance on this occasion. No greater effort at resistance can be made, than that which has been made, and which has proved fruitless at every point. It may be hoped that so signal a defeat may prevent a repetition of the effort.

The triumph of the law thus obtained is far more satisfactory than if it had been the result of an actual conflict of force. The public authorities, including the municipal and police authorities of the city, are therefore entitled to much credit for the judgment with which the affair has been conducted. From the efforts which were made by exhortations to the populace in public assemblies, and by other other appeals in various ways, it was impossible to foresee what degree of resistance might be apprehended. Prudence, therefore, required that ample provision should be made to meet any supposable emergency, far beyond what could be deemed probable. Fortunately the services of the military who were called into requisition, to be in readiness, were not needed.

From the Boston Times

The result of the recent action in this city under the Fugitive Slave Law must prove gratifying to the feelings of every candid-minded citizen. It was a fair test of the power of the constituted authorities to carry out the requirements of a law, against which the sentiments of an excited and inconsiderate class of the community were bitterly in opposition—and to thwart the administration of which, sanguinary resistance was openly recommended. It is emphatically a triumph of that principle inherent in the breast of every true American; obedience to the Constitution under whose ample folds each individual is protected in his property, and in the enjoyment of his religious and political liberty.

The good faith of the Commonwealth towards its sister States has been established beyond peradventure; and we candidly think that in the event of another arrest under the Fugitive Slave Law it will be attended without those scenes of popular agitation and puerile attempts at delay in the execution of the law which have attended the case of the fugitive who has just been delivered up.

From the Washington Union,

We congratulate our readers on the result. It is the triumph of the Constitution and law, of order and the compromise in that much agitated city. It has been won in the face of the most serious difficulties and the most violent opposition. It was accomplished in the face of several public meetings of the Abolitionists, with a member of Congress at their heads, in opposition to Rantoul, who took the field at Lynn against the Fugitive Law—to Seward and John Van Buren, who had seized the opportunity of writing reckless letters denunciatory of the law; in the face of an order from the Abolitionists of Boston, who had summoned their fanatic clan to muster on Friday last; in the midst of an excited mob, armed and breathing vengeance, and supported by the Abolition members of the bar. In fact, if we may believe almost all the papers in Boston, so serious a question has not been got up for many years.

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

Saturday's mail and the telegraph brought the gratifying intelligence that Sims had been delivered up and was, on Saturday morning, shipped off for Savannah. We rejoice that Boston has at length cleared her skirts of the infamous schemes and tricks of the fanatics and hypocritical villains, by seeing that the Constitution has been carried out, the laws vindicated. The most miserable pretexts were raised, to defeat the ends of justice—but they were all foiled by the energy and firmness of the city authorities, and the United States Judiciary and officers.

From the Richmond Whig.

Thus well and successfully has Boston, to the confusion of the disloyal, North and South, vindicated herself and the laws? All honor to the brave old City! Let Charleston do as well, in her turn, and put out Disunion at t'other end.

From the Baltimore Sun.

The Surrender of Sims.—The citizens of Boston have loyally vindicated the majesty of the Constitution and laws, in the face of faction and the most reckless fanaticism. We have observed with deep interest the events of the past week, but without the slightest apprehension as to the final result, although there was a posibility of a violent scene or two under the frenzy of the hour. The patriotism of the old Bay State, or rather of her venerable capital, has been gallantly sustained, and whatever there has been offensive and viruient on the part of the few, has been more than counterbalanced by the sturdy principle of the true men and honest masses who represent the moral power of the Commonwealth.

From the Buffalo Courier.

All Honor to Boston!—The whole country has watched with intense interest for the past fornight, the proceedings in Boston, instituted to release the fugitive slave Sims. It was regarded as a test of the practicability of enforcing the law and the Constitution. No efforts were left untried by the violent Abolitionists to excite resistance and arouse rebellion. Every art of the demagogue was brought into requisition to inflame the passions of the multitude. The Wendell Philips, the Elizur Wrights, and Samuel Mays, poured forth their most passionate appeals, calling upon their mad followers to assemble "by thousands, *with muskets and ball cartridges*." Senator Seward of this State forwarded his treasonable epistle. The manifesto of John Van Buren, denouncing the laws of Congress and counselling resistance, helped to swell the tide of concentrated opposition.

The signal failure of this grand demonstration is announced in a telegraphic despatch on Saturday.

The old town of Boston, whose patriotic citizens aided so powerfully to form and build up the Union, manifests no disposition to countenance the reckless fanatics now aiming to overthrow and destroy it.

From the Pennsylvanian.

Honor, then, to the capital of the Old Bay State. Let us give her credit for a good act, a patriotic act—an act of duty. It may suit some to carp at the dilatory character of the proceedings—at the toil and peril through which the sequel was reached—at all the annoyances of British faction and of domestic treason. But we honor her because she was victorious over all these, and because she stood ready with her blood and treasure to vindicate the law, cost what it might of either. We say honor to her. Honor to Woodbury, to Hallet, to Green, to Cushing, to Curtis, and to those men of both parties who stand up to them, sustaining them with heart and with hand.

From the Syracuse Star.

It has been boldly asserted both in this city and elsewhere, that the Fugitive Slave Law could not be executed in Massachusetts. We have never been of this opinion. Soon after the rescue of Shadrach, we expressed the belief that the law would be executed in Massachusetts if an occasion should arise. We were right in our estimate of the loyalty of the people of that State to the Constitution, and the Abolitionists were wrong; and while we regret the re-delivery of Sims into captivity, we rejoice that the character of our native State cannot hereafter be impugned for treason toward the Federal Republic and that Union, without which she would now be one of the most insignificant, instead of being, as she is, one of the most powerful Commonwealths on the Continent of America.

From the Journal of Commerce.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

U. S. Circuit Court.....Before Judge Nelson.

In charging the Grand Jury, Judge Nelson adverted at considerable length to the Fugitive Slave Law. After alluding to some other matters, which would claim their attention, his Honor proceeded as follows:—

Besides these instructions in respect to the cases in the calender of the District Attorney, furnished to the court, I desire to call your attention, with some particularity, to a recent act of Congress, commonly called the "Fugitive Slave Law," passed Sept. 18, 1850.

This act has been the subject of much comment since its passage, and of various and conflicting opinions, both as concerns the constitutional principle involved, and the matters in detail, embodied in its several provisions. It is a law against which open resistance to its execution has been recommended, in some quarters, as unconstitutional; and in others whether constitutional or not. As all persons concerned directly or indirectly in this resistance, or in any obstruction to its due execution, are guilty of an offence, and subjected to heavy punishment, criminally, and also, by civil damages to the aggrieved party, it is proper that the law should be understood so that those, if any there be, who have made up their minds to disobey it, may be fully apprised of the consequences.

The act, as you are aware, was passed for the purpose of carrying more effectually into execution a provision of the Constitution of the United States—namely, a part of the second section of the fourth article. That provision is as follows:—"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

At the time of the adoption of the constitution by the Convention, Sept. 17, 1787, Slavery existed, I believe, to an extent, more or less, in each of the States then composing the confederacy; above one-fifteenth of the population of New York were slaves. The proportion of the New England States was much less; also, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey about the same as New York. All the original States, therefore, were interested, more or less, in the adoption of this provision, into the constitution, but more especially the Southern States, where, speaking generally, and without strict accuracy, about half the population consisted of this class.

It was, however, anticipated that, in the progress of time, Slavery, while it would increase in the South, would diminish and finally become extinguished in the North.

So just was this provision regarded at the time by the members of the convention, and necessary for the security of this species of labor and the existence of friendly relations between the different members of the Union, that it was adopted without opposition and by a unanimous vote.

It was of the deepest interest to the Southern States, as, without the provision, every non-slaveholding State in the Union would have been at liberty, according to the general law of nations, to have declared free all runaway slaves coming within its limits, and to have given them harbor and protection against the claims of their masters. We need not say, at this day, that such a state of things would have led inevitably to the bitterest animosities, especially between border States, and have been the border source of perpetual strife, and of the fiercest passions between the Northern and Southern portions of the Union.

The evil was felt at the time by the Southern portion, as the articles of confederation contained no such provision; and it was to guard against it, and to lay a foundation that would afford future security, and preserve the friendly relations and intercourse of the States, that the provision was incorporated into the fundamental law. No one conversant with the history of the convention, and particularly with the difficulties that surrounded this subject in almost every stage of its proceedings, can doubt, for a moment, that without this, or some equivalent provision, the constitution would never have been formed. It was of the last importance to the Southern portion of the Union, and could not have been surrendered without endangering their whole interest in this species of property. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is still adhered to with unyielding resolution, and is made the groundwork of a question upon which the continued existence of a Union, thus formed, is made to depend.

The clause in the constitution is general, and simply declares that the slave escaping into another State, shall not thereby be discharged by any law or regulation of the State to which he has fled; but shall be delivered up on claim of the person to whom the service is due.

The mode of delivering up to the claimant is not prescribed, and, until regulated by law, continued to be the source of embarrassment to the masters, and of disturbance and disquietude among the States.

This led to the first act of Congress, passed 12th February, 1793, during the sitting of the second session, held under the constitution. It was enacted by a body of men, several of whom had been distinguished members of the convention, and is framed in its leading features in the spirit of the provision of the constitution, which it was designed to carry into effect. It is signed by Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, John Adams, Vice President, and President of the Senate, and approved by George Washington, President of the United States, and was passed on the urgent recommendations of the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, between whose States a difficulty had arisen in the surrender of a fugitive slave.

The first section on the subject declares, that when any person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other State or territory, the person to whom such labor may be due, shall be authorized to seize, or arrest such fugitive, and take him or her before any judge of the Circuit or District Courts of the United States, residing or being within the State or before any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate, wherein such arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of the judge, or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, that the person so arrested, owes service to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of the judge, or magistrate, to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, which shall be a sufficient warrant for his or her removal to the State or territory from which he or she fled.

The remaining section inflicts a penalty upon any person who knowingly obstructs or hinders the claimant from arresting the fugitive, or rescue the same from him, or harbors or conceals the fugitive after notice.

This act has been on the statute book, and in operation for more than fifty-seven years; and its constitutionality recognized and affirmed by the courts of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York, and by the Supreme Court of the United States in Prigg vs. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. 16 Peters 439, (2 Pick Rep. 11; Commonwealth vs. Griffin; 5 Serg. and Raule; 62 Wright vs. Deacon; 9 Johns. R 67 Glen vs. Hodges and 12 Wend. Rep.; 311 Jack vs. Martin. S. C. ib 507, and has never been denied by any court with the qualification that will be presently noticed.

The case of Pregg vs. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the courts of that State, is no exception to these remarks, as the jury found a special verdict, and the judgment was entered *pro forma* by agreement of counsel, for the purpose of carrying the question before the Supreme Court.

Doubts had been expressed, and, in some instances, decided opinions given by State judges, that it was not competent for Congress to confer upon State magistrates the power to carry into execution a law of Congress, inasmuch as the judicial power of the federal government was vested by the constitution in a Supreme Court, and on such inferior courts as Congress might ordain and establish. It was also argued with much force, that if Congress possessed this power, it might burden the State judiciary and magistrates with duties that would be incompatible with, or embarrass the faithful discharge of those which concerned the State.

Influenced by these views, or some other, the Legislatures of some of the States passed laws forbidding their own magistrates from acting under the law in the surrender of fugitives, and enforced the prohibition with heavy penalties. It is not doubted but that it was entirely competent for the State to prohibit their own magistrates from assuming the duty of executing the law; but it was held in Prigg vs. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to be clear, that if not so forbidden, it was competent for them to act, and that the exercise of the authority under the law would be valid and binding upon all the parties concerned.

This inference of the State legislature greatly paralyzed the execution of the law; and, indeed, had the effect, for the time being, to abrogate, virtually, the provision of the constitution. It left but one, or at most, two officers in a State competent to execute it, as the power was thereby restricted to the District and Circuit Judges of the United States. Your own State, as early as 1830, forbade their magistrates from acting, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment. (2 R. S., 465, §14.)

These, and other more direct interferences by legislative acts of the States, with the execution of the law of 1793, together with the open resistance with which its execution was met, in some instances, by combinations against law, led, necessarily, to the recent supplementary act; and to which I wish now particularly to call your attention.

This act is designed, first, to substitute officers of the federal government in the place of these State magistrates: and second, to arm the officers with sufficient power and authority to enable them to execute the law against any resistance, actual or threatened, and in whatever form it might be presented. The act has grown out of the exigencies and necessities to which I have referred, and was forced upon the attention of Congress, mainly, by the legislative interference of the States.

Had not the law of 1793 been thus crippled, it would probably, have afforded all the means necessary to the execution of the constitutional provision.

The supplementary act is obviously framed with great skill and care; and bears upon its face the deep conviction of the body that enacted it—that the constitutional provision has not only been disregarded, but, that a settled purpose, a fixed determination, existed in some portions of the country, to set its obligations at nought. The act meets this condition of things, real or supposed, and clothes the public authorities with power adequate to the exigency.

It confers authority upon commissioners appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States, in addition to the judges, to carry into execution its several provisions, and makes it the duty of the marshals and deputy marshals to execute all warrants and precepts issued by the judges or commissioners under the act, subjecting them to a fine of $1,000 to the use of the claimant in case of refusal; and, after the arrest, and while the fugitive is in their custody, if he or she is allowed to escape with or without their assent, the marshal is made liable upon his official bond to be prosecuted for the benefit of the claimant for the full value of the slave.

The commissioners are also empowered, within the counties in which they respectively reside, to appoint in writing, one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all warrants and other process issued by them in the performance of their duties, with authority to the commissioners, or the persons thus appointed, to summon and call to their aid the by-standers or possee of the county, when necessary to insure the due execution of the law; and it is made the duty of the citizens thus called to the aid of the officers, to assist in the execution of the process whenever their services are required.

The act further provides, that the claimant may pursue and reclaim the fugitive, either by procuring a warrant from the court, judge or commissioner of the proper circuit, district, or county, for his apprehension, or by arresting him, or her, where it may be practicable without warrant, and by taking, or causing the fugitive to be taken forthwith, before the proper officer, whose duty it is made to hear and determine the case in a summary manner; and upon satisfactory proof, either oral or by deposition properly taken and certified, that the person so arrested owes service and labor to the claimant in the State or territory from whence he or she fled, and that they had escaped from such service, to grant a certificate to the claimant, setting forth substantially the facts of the case.

This certificate is made conclusive is evidence of the right of the claimant to remove the fugitive back to the State or territory from whence he or she had escaped, and is declared to be sufficient authority to prevent all molestation of the claimant by any process issued by any court, magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

The act subjects to fine and imprisonment, and also to civil damages to the party aggrieved; any and every person who shall knowingly obstruct, hinder or prevent the claimant or his agent from arresting the fugitive, either with or without process, or who shall rescue, or attempt to rescue the same from the custody of the claimant or his agent, or who shall aid or assist, directly or indirectly, in the escape of the fugitive, or who shall harbor or conceal the same so as to prevent the discovery and arrest after notice that such person is a fugitive from service.

The act further provides that if the claimant or his agent shall make affidavit, after the certificate is granted, that he has reason to apprehend a rescue by force, before the fugitive can be taken beyond the limits of the State in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the marshal or officer making the arrest, to retain the fugitive in his custody, and to remove the same to the State whence he or she had escaped, and there to deliver them to the claimant or his agent; and to employ as many persons as he may deem necessary to overcome such force; and to retain them in his service so long as in his judgment the circumstances may require.

These, together with some regulations as to the mode of proof before the judge or commissioner, embrace substantially every material provision of the act. And it will excite, I think, some surprise, after the determined opposition to its passage, and even threatened, and, in some instances, actual resistance to its execution in certain quarters, when it is seen that there is not a power conferred upon those appointed to administer it judicially, but what was conferred upon the judges and other State magistrates under the act of 1793—a law approved by Washington and Adams, and enacted by the fathers and founders of the Republic—not one. It is simply, in this respect, a substitution of the commissioners in the place of the State magistrates, who were disabled, and prevented from discharging the duty by the State authorities. Full confidence was reposed in them by the federal government, so long as they were permitted to act. When thus disabled, other officers were selected, of necessity, to supply their places. This is the only difference, as it regards the judicial authority conferred by this supplementary act. Neither is there any power conferred by it on the claimant, his attorney or agent, but what is found in the act of 1793—not one. All the additional powers are conferred upon the ministerial officers—the marshal and deputy marshals—who are required to execute the warrants and other processes issued in pursuance of its provisions, and which warrants and processes are the same as those provided for in the previous act, and none others. Every ground of opposition to this recent act, distinguishable from opposition to the former, is exclusively referrable to the power with which the marshal and his deputies are armed, with a view to its execution—powers essential to enforce obedience to the mandates of the officers, and to put down, with a strong hand, if necessary, all disaffection, disorder, insubordination, or resistance, in whatever form presented. The apprehension that any new or exorbitant powers have been vested in the judges or commissioners

is entirely groundless; there is not even pretext for any such apprehension. The only apprehension for which there is the slightest foundation is, that the powers which have been possessed by the judges and and State magistrates, since the act of 1793, now by the commissioners in their places, may be faithfully executed; that the law is made stronger than the combinations and treasonable influences arrayed against it; and that the provision of the Constitution may be enforced and executed in the faith and spirit with which it was adopted.

Another subject arising out of the provision of this law, and which has a material bearing upon its execution, it is proper should be noticed.

By the second section of the third article of the Constitution, it is declared, that "The federal powers shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority."

The power, therefore, it will be seen, to execute this act of Congress belongs to the tribunals and authorities of the federal government; and, in respect to these, can be executed only by such courts or officers as are specially designated in the act for the purpose. The power, therefore, is exclusive in these courts or officers, both as it respects the tribunals of the State, or others of the federal government. Neither can act or interfere in the execution of the law; and any attempt of either to interfere or exercise the authority, its acts would be *coram non judice* and void.

These propositions are elementary, and so obvious, as to require no further comment.

It seems to be supposed, however, in some quarters, that the State power, exercised by its tribunals, under the writ of *habeas corpus*, forms an exception to this generally admitted doctrine; and that through the agency of this writ the fugitive may be taken out of the hands of the federal officers, and the authority or propriety of the arrest or detainer inquired into, and the person discharged or remanded, according to the judgment of the State magistrate. This is the exception claimed to the exclusive power of the federal officers designated in the act.

It is apparent, if this exception can be maintained, there is an end to the complete execution of the law; or, indeed, of any law of the general government by which the party is subject to an arrest. It is not claimed that the State magistrate can administer the act and enforce its provisions, under this writ, as that authority, as we have seen, is confined to the tribunals appointed by it for the purpose. The fugitive must be, therefore, if taken at all, taken out of the hands of the federal officers by force of some other law; and the question whether he or she shall be discharged or remanded, will depend upon the application of that law to the particular case. What that law is, or may be, must necessarily depend upon State regulation; and the rights of the claimant, under the Constitution and laws of the Union, will be thus determined by law of the State.

The effectual abrogation of the act, by the interposition of this writ, if admitted, will be still more apparent, when we reflect that the power exercised under it is such as our State Legislatures may choose to prescribe; and that the State tribunals are not only invested with that power, but if they act at all, are bound to act in obedience to, and in conformity with it. There is no limit, therefore, to the extent of the powers that may be exercised under this proceeding, in respect to the arrest and detainer of the fugitive, but the discretion of the State Legislatures. They may confer jurisdiction upon their magistrates to re-examine and revise the acts and decisions of the federal tribunals, out of whose hands the fugitive is taken, and the State magistrate would be bound to execute the power accordingly.

It is manifest that it would be impossible to uphold the due execution of the law with the admission of any such authority.

Conceding, however, the soundness of this general view, and the inability of the State tribunals to interfere with the federal authorities, when they are acting upon cases arising under the Constitution, laws of Congress, or treaties; still, it is argued, that they possess the power, under this writ, to inquire into the legality of the authority under which the prisoner is held: and which may involve the constitutionality of the law, and jurisdiction of the court or officers.

But it is obvious that the existence of either power, on the part of the State tribunals, would be fatal to the authority of the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the general government. No government could maintain the administration, or the execution of its laws, civil or criminal, if their constitutionality, or the jurisdiction of her judicial tribunals, was subject to the determination of another. We need not stop, however, to discuss this question, as it arose and was settled in the case of the United States *vs.* Peters (5 Cranch 115), more familiarly known as Olmstead's case. The Legislature of Pennsylvania had passed an act, declaring that the jurisdiction claimed by the District Court of the United States was unconstitutional, and empowered the Governor to resist the execution of its judgment.

Chief Justice Marshal, in delivering the opinion of the court, observed, "that if the Legislatures of the several States may, at will, annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under these judgments, the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery; and the nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals." He further remarked that, "If the ultimate right to determine the jurisdiction of the courts of the Union is placed by our Constitution in the several State Legislatures, then this act concludes the subject; but, if that power necessarily resides in the Supreme judicial tribunal of the nation, then the jurisdiction of the District Court of Pennsylvania over the case in which that jurisdiction was exercised, ought to be most deliberately examined; and the act of Pennsylvania, with whatever respect it may be considered, cannot be permitted to prejudice the question."

I deed not add that the judgment was regularly enforced, notwithstanding the State act.

There have been different opinions entertained by the judges of the States as to their power, under this act, to decide upon the validity of a commitment, or detainer, by the authority of the United States. But those who have been inclined to entertain this jurisdiction, admit that it cannot be upheld, where it appears from the return that the proceeding belonged exclusively to the cognizance of the general government.

This necessarily results from the vesting of the judicial power of the Union in the federal courts and officers; and from the fourth article of the Constitution, which declares, that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges, in every State, shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of the State to the contrary notwithstanding."

If the exclusive power to execute the act is in the federal judiciary, and one act is to be regarded as the supreme law of the land, and to be obeyed as such, it is difficult to see by what right or authority its execution can be interfered with through the agency of this writ by State authorities. Any such interference would seem to be a direct infraction of the Constitution.

It is proper to say, in order to guard against misconstruction, I do not claim that the mere fact of commitment, or detainer of a prisoner by an officer of the federal government, bears the issuing or the exercise of the power under this writ. Far from it. Those officers may be guilty of illegal restraint of the liberty of the citizen, the same as others: and the right of the State authorities to inquire into them is not doubted; and it is the duty of the officer to obey the authority, by making a return. All that is claimed or contended for is, that when it is shown that the commitment or detainer is under the Constitution, or a law of the United States, or a treaty, the power of the State authority is at an end. Any further proceeding under the writ is *coram non judice*, and void; and in such a case, that is, that when the prisoner is in fact held under process issued from the federal tribunal under the Constitution or law of the United States, or treaty, it is the duty of the officer not to deliver him up, or allow him to pass from his hands in any state of the proceedings. He should stand upon his proofs and authority, and if resisted, maintain them with all the powers conferred upon him for that purpose.

We certainly do not anticipate any such exigency. Far from it. The habitual respect of the judiciary, State and national, for the law of the land, and legal authority forbid it. But it is proper that the officers should know their rights, and their duties, if, unfortunately, by possibility, any such exigency should arise.

These views of the paramount authority of the laws of the federal government in no way endanger the liberty of the citizen. The writ of *habeas corpus* secured to him under that government, affords the appropriate and effectual remedy for any illegality in the process, or want of jurisdiction of the court, or for any unconstitutionality of the law. The remedy is as prompt and summary, as when administered by the State judiciary, and in this way, by conceding to each government the free and unobstructed execution of its own laws, and exercise of its own authority, harmony is maintained and perpetuated in the working of our most complex system of government.

The views we have presented will explain a provision in this act of 1850, which is somewhat obscure. I allude to the last clause of the sixth section, which declares that the certificate granted to the claimant to remove the fugitive "shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, or magistrate or other person whomsoever."

This clause doubtless includes, among other process, the State writ of *habeas corpus*. It could not have intended, or at least ought not to be construed as intending to embrace that writ when issued by the federal judiciary, as Congress do not possess the power to suspend it. As it respects the State writ we have seen, from the views expressed, that it is but declaratory of the existing law, and not the introduction of any new principle. Without this clause, the paramount authority of the certificate would have been the same so far as that process was concerned. It has been made a question upon this act whether or not it was competent for Congress to confer the power upon the United States Commissioners to carry it into execution. As the judicial power of the Union is vested in the Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time establish, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior, it has been supposed that the power to execute the law must be conferred upon these courts, or upon judges possessing this tenure. It is a sufficient answer to this suggestion that the same power was conferred upon the State magistrates under the act of 1793; and which the case of Prigg *vs.* the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was held to be constitutional by the only tribunal competent, under the Constitution, to decide that question. No doubt was entertained by any of the judges in that case, but that these magistrates had power to act, if not forbidden by the State authorities.

The judicial power mentioned in this section, and vested in the courts, means the power conferred upon courts ordained and established by and under the Constitution in the strict and appropriate sense of that term:—courts that comprise one of the three great departments of the government, prescribed by the fundamental law, the same as the other two—the legislative and the executive.

But, besides this mass of judicial power belonging to the established courts of a government, there is no inconsiderable portion of power, in its nature judicial—*quasi* judicial—invested, from time to time, by legislative authority in individuals, separately or collectively, for a particular purpose and limited time.

This distinction, in respect to judicial power, will be found running through the administration of all governments, and has been acted upon in this since its foundation. A familiar case occurs in the institution of commissioners for settling land claims, and other claims against the government. (2 St. at large, 324—440.)

A strong illustration will be found in this State under the old constitution of 1777. By that justices of the peace were appointed by the council of appointment, and held their offices during the pleasure of that body. Yet the power possessed by most magistrates were conferred by acts of the Legislature upon the aldermen of cities, who were elected by the people. But I need not pursue the subject, as the question must be regarded as settled by the case referred to.

The same answer may be given also, to the objection founded upon the seventh amendment to the Constitution, which provides that, "in suits of common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

The summary mode of hearing and deciding upon the claim to the service of the fugitive prescribed by the recent act is the same as that prescribed by the act of 1793, which the court, in the case already referred to, held to be clearly constitutional in all its leading provisions.

The proceeding contemplated by the clause of the Constitution in question, is not a suit at common law, within the meaning of that amendment. It settles conclusively no right of the claimant to the service of the fugitive, except for the purpose of removal to the State from which he or she fled—no more than the proceeding, in the case of a fugitive from justice, for the purpose of removal, settles his guilt. The question of right to the service in the one case, and of guilt in the other, is open to a final hearing and trial in the States from whence they have escaped. After the arrival of the fugitive there, the certificate is no longer of any authority, or evidence of any right.

Indeed, so obviously does the Constitution contemplate a summary hearing and decision in the matter that the counsel for the State of Pennsylvania, in the case referred to, did not make it a point or call it seriously in question on an argument.

I have now gone over the several provisions of this law, and some of the more material questions arising out of it; and if I am not greatly mistaken, have shown that all the leading features of it—all the principles involved—have been either confirmed by the only tribunal competent to pass upon them, or are so obvious, that no lawyer, I think, can entertain a well-grounded doubt about them, and that Congress has but obeyed an imperative constitutional obligation in its enactment.

It is a law, therefore, which every citizen is bound to obey, and the public authorities to enforce with all the powers conferred upon them by the government.

The legislatures of some of the States have passed laws bearing directly upon this provision of the Constitution, and its execution in the mode prescribed by Congress. So far as these laws are in conflict with the provisions of the one in question, or tend to obstruct and embarrass its execution, they are unconstitutional, and utterly void; and can afford no protection against its penalties. The law of Congress is paramount, and must be obeyed.

Opinions were expressed in the case of Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that the power of Congress to provide the mode of surrendering up the fugitive under the constitution, was exclusive, and, that the States were disabled from acting at all on the subject. Others, that the power was concurrent, and, although the States could pass no law in conflict with the act of Congress, it was competent for them to pass laws in aid of it, and in furtherance of the execution of the constitutional provision.

It is not important here to express any opinion upon these different views; for, whether the one or the other shall finally prevail, the result is the same. In either view, a law in conflict with the act of Congress is void, and of no effect.

It is not to be disguised, that the legislation of most, if not all of the Northern States, tending to embarrass, and, in some instances to annul the provision of the act of 1793 has strongly impressed our Southern brethren with the conviction that these States have resolved to throw off that constitutional obligation. They take it for granted, and it is difficult to deny the inference, that the acts reflect the general sentiment of the people on the subject, and that it must have become deep and abiding, to be sufficiently, powerful to mould the State legislation.

It is this legislation, more than occasional riotous assemblies in resistance of the law, that has forced them to the question, whether the Union, with this provision of the fundamental law rejected and contemned—a provision vital to the rights and interests of that portion, and without which the Union would never have been formed—is to them a blessing or a curse? A question raised, not by disaffected and tumultuous assemblages, often very equivocal evidence of the real sentiment of the public mind, but by the people of the States, through their organized governments and a question examined and discussed in the mode through the agencies that examined and discussed that of entering into the Union at the adoption of the constitution.

This question has been raised by fifteen States of the confederacy, six of whom were original parties to the compact. It has been examined and considered over and over again, by the Governors in their public messages; by the Representatives in their legislative halls; by the people in their primary assemblies; and by the press; and they have come to the resolution—one and all—that if this hostile legislation is carried into effect and the constitutional obligation no longer adhered to by their Northern brethren, but thrown off, disregarded, and contemned, the Union is no longer a blessing, and should be dissolved—that the abrogation of one material provision of the fundamental law is destructive of the compact, and the portion of the Union for whose benefit it was adopted, and whose rights and interests are thereby endangered, is absolved from its allegiance.

This, I believe to be the settled conviction and sentiment of fifteen States of this Union, and it presents an issue of the gravest aspect, and one that can neither be evaded or suppressed.

It is an issue which the Northern States must determine for themselves. That laws exists on the statute books of most, if not all of them, in conflict with the act of Congress, and repugnant to this provision of the constitution, is matter of history. That the enforcement of these laws would be a virtual abrogation of the provision, it is not to be denied. It remains for these States to determine whether any attempt shall be made to enforce them—whether they are to remain on the statute book a dead letter or be repealed.

These are questions of transcendent import; for the determination of them, in my humble judgment, involves the perpetuity of the Union.

I am aware that opinions are entertained, and, doubtless, honestly entertained, that the Union has not been at any time in danger, and is not now. I wish these opinions were well founded. My deep conviction and belief is, that it depends at this moment, upon the confidence inspired by the late proceedings in Congress, and by the indications of public sentiment in the free States, that this constitutional obligation will be hereafter executed in the faith and spirit with which it was entered into—that the friends of the Union in the slave-holding States now maintain their ascendency, and the allegiance of their States by the confidence thus inspired. And that in case of any action on the part of the Northern States, destructive of that confidence, and of all hope of the execution of the obligation, it would not be in their power to maintain their position; and I may add, they would not, if they could.

If any one supposes that this Union can be preserved after a material provision of the fundamental law upon which it rests, is broken and thrown to the winds by one section of it—a provision in which nearly one-half of the States comprising it is deeply and seriously interested—he is laboring under a delusion, which the sooner he gets rid of the better. If it is not preserved which I do not doubt it will by a stern adherence to this fundamental law, and to every part and parcel of it, no one section of the Union can throw off the obligation of a part in which it has no interest, or because another is exclusively interested, and expect to preserve it.

The very supposition implies degradation and dishonor, broken faith on the one side, and abject submission on the other.

Neither can the motive for breaking the compact afford any apology or justification.

If one article may be set aside by one portion, because it is repugnant to their sense of right and justice another may be, because it is against their interest.

"No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports" by an article of this fundamental law. Suppose New York, deeming this article prejudicial to her interests, by crippling too much her resources and revenue, should levy duties upon the immense trade and exchange now existing, and continually increasing, between the great west and our eastern brethren; or upon the vast coal trade which our neighboring sister, Pennsylvania, for which we afford so extensive a market, would the motive afford any excuse for the infraction of the Constitution? And yet, looking at the compact, and to the constitutional duties and obligations arising out of it, and binding all this motive is just as available as any other to excuse or justify the infraction.

The example of breaking the compact upon any motive is dangerous. With what face can one State rebuke another for want of allegiance, when she has thrown it off herself? Her rebuke would be "laughed to scorn."

This Union must and shall be preserved, if at all, by that stern, old fashioned honesty and principle which inculcates the fulfilment of the whole of our constitutional duties and obligations, and every part of them. It was this spirit that formed the compact, and has thus far preserved it through all its trials and assaults; and it is this spirit that must and will, I trust, carry it safely hereafter through whatever perils and misfortunes it may be destined to encounter.

As men possessing these sturdy and manly virtues have thus far been found in the republic, equal to every trial and exigency, so I do not doubt, they will be hereafter. And they will have their reward—the blessings of all good men of the times in which they live, and of unborn millions, who will be indebted to them, under the favor of heaven, for the rich heritage they enjoy.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1851.

Seventeenth Anniversary

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

By the 8th article of the Constitution, it is provided that "the Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct." Hitherto, since the formation of the Society, the annual meeting has been uniformly held in the city of New York, and usually in the Broadway Tabernacle. So absolute, however, is the sway of the Slave Power in this city, and such the fear of mobocratic excesses, (stimulated by "THE UNION COMMITTEE" on the one hand, and the lawless RYNDERS and his crew on the other,) that no meeting-house or hall, in this great city, can be procured, either for the love of liberty or for gold, for the accommodation of the Society. Neither in the adjacent city of Brooklyn can any suitable building be obtained for this purpose.

Leaving these cities to the historical infamy which awaits them, the Executive Committee, in accordance with the urgent request of the friends of impartial liberty in Western New York, hereby give notice that the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held at SYRACUSE, (N. Y.) on WEDNESDAY, May 7th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.—at which time and place they earnestly invite a full attendance of its members and friends; believing that the crisis is such, in the conviction of every intelligent mind, both as to the preservation of our own liberties and the emancipation of the millions who are still clanking the fetters of Slavery, as to render needless any special appeal.

It is with great pleasure the Committee announce that their distinguished and eloquent coadjutor, GEO THOMPSON, M. P., has promised to give his attendance, and participate in the proceedings. The Rev. THEODORE PARKER, of Boston, has also signified his intention to be with us on the occasion, if practicable, as well as other able advocates of "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY." A series of meetings, of the most interesting and stirring character, may be confidently expected. Much reliance is placed on the readiness and determination of the friends of the cause at the West to improve this opportunity to commune with their brethren from the East.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, } *Secretaries.*

☞ Editors of papers are respectfully requested to notify their readers of the time and place of holding this Anniversary.

ON RECEIVING A PEICE OF FLAX-COTTON.

While we, with human rage and heat,
Would make the world forego its ill,
Behold with what unnoticed feet
God's passionless reformers still
Come unaware and have their will.

Tough roots hath profitable wrong
That blunt too long the leveller's axe;
God touches them with naught more strong
Nor sharper than a stem of flax,—
The iron fibres melt as wax.

Thou soft and silken Garrison!
Light as thou liest in my hand,
By thee great marvels shall be done,
For thou shalt snap the Circe-wand
And disenchant the grovelling land.

By many a rushing waterfall
I hear the spindles buzz aloud,
Twining the cords that bind us all;
I see our dear New England bowed
To weave the web of Freedom's shroud.

How quietly upon her side
Doth Fate the hostile force enlist!
Perchance, ere long, with us allied,
Those wheels with every thread they twist
Shall make an Abolitionist

I hear our pines, with horrent thrill,
Sigh dreading that their doom may be
From 'neath the shade of Bunker Hill,
To bear across the spurning sea
The human flesh-tax of the free.

Come swiftly happy change and bless
Our longing sight before we die;
Set free our pulpit and our press,
Relume the ancient fires that die,
In fallen New England's downcast eye!

Or come in God's own season; swift
Is sickly ripeness, stung by wasps;
The hand of God from each good gift
One finger at a time unclasps,
And shuts from him who rashly grasps.

Then let our banyan empire shoot
Such knitted stems as earth ne'er saw,
O'er half a world; and let its root
From Shakspeare's tongue and Alfred's law
The everliving forces draw!—J. R. L.

SIMS THE FUGITIVE.

THE Boston Slave-trader 'Acorn,'—which vessel, it seems, belongs to those notorious kidnappers, John H. Pierson & Co.—has arrived at Savannah, and the unfortunate fugitive, Sims, consigned, in irons, to the county jail. Various statements are made as to his behavior on his arrival at Savannah—one being that he made "a hypocritical speech on reaching the wharf, in which he denounced the Abolitionists, and congratulated himself that he had been once more permitted to tread the hospitable shores of Georgia;" another, that his manners are not at all improved by his late associations, and that his 'insolent bearing' demanded a little wholesome chastisement. But what the poor fellow's real feeling or condition may be, of course, we shall never know, as lying is as rigidly adhered to on that point by the Slave-catchers and their friends as if it was enjoined in the Act and was an essential part of the Compromises. We have nothing else to expect from either Northern or Southern papers, but it is strange that some of the former cannot see what swift witnesses they are to their own baseness in thus deprecating the natural popular indignation by attempts to blunt the edge of the popular sympathy. The *Boston Transcipt* is particularly weak in this respect, for having distinguished itself as quite as much as any of the Boston papers by aspersions of the behavior of Sims and his friends—as if the worthlessness of one fugitive would prove the righteousness of Slave-catching—is betrayed in speaking of him as in the following statement after his departure:

He could read printed matter quite well, and during his confinement in the Court House, out of trial hours, he read the newspapers regularly, and smoked his cigar with as much grace and independence as if "to the *manner* born," previous to betaking himself to cards or other amusements, with which he whiled away time with the officers.

Learning that he could not write one of the officers, a good penman, interested himself to educate him in that respect; and in the comparative short time which elapsed, Sims practised sufficiently to write his own name legibly two days before he left, and also to write after copies that were set him. We saw some specimens this morning, and they prove him to have been a more than tolerably apt scholar.

On getting initiated in the use of the pen, he abstained from cards altogether, and applied himself with very promising diligence in his new study; and should he persevere in this and the acquisition of other knowledge which will even suggest itself, the returned fugitive will have ample cause to bless at least his first "offical" instructor, as well as posess the legitimate means to ransom himself and perhaps many others from bondage.

—Ample opportunity, no doubt, will be given him in Georgia to be initiated in all the mysteries of the "Humanities," and a little of the same sort of discipline to which he will be subjected would add a good deal even to the knowledge, and something perhaps to the moral sense of the Boston and New York editors, if they also could be put through a course of it.

MR. WEBSTER AND FANEUIL HALL.

THE Board of Aldermen, of Boston, as will be seen by the letter of our Boston Correspondent, finally submitted to be bullied into inviting Mr. Webster into Faneuil Hall, and a letter is now in possession of that body in which he replies to the invitation. It is said to be a model for brevity, and is by no means an acceptance of the *amende honorable* of the civic fathers. They have not yet permitted it to see the light, but the correspondence between the Common Council and the Hon. Secretary is published, and is as follows:

COMMON COUNCIL ROOM, BOSTON, April 18, 1851.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to transmit a certified copy of the preamble and resolutions, adopted by the unanimous vote of the Common Council of this city, at their session of last evening, in reference to the refusal by the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, of the request of your friends for the use of Faneuil Hall.

One of the rules of the Common Council provides that "in all cases the president may vote." I cheerfully availed myself of the privilege of recording my "aye" on the passage of the preamble and resolutions; it is with pleasure that I comply with the instructions of the Board, to transmit to you an attested copy of them.

I remain, very sincerely, your friend,
and ob't serv't,
FRANCIS BRINLEY, President.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Marshfield, Mass.

MARSHFIELD, Saturday morning, April 19.

To FRANCIS BRINLEY, Esq., President of the Common Council of the City of Boston:

My Dear Sir:—I have received your communication, transmitting copies of the Preamble and Resolutions adopted on the 17th inst., by the unanimous vote of the body over which you preside.

I should be incapable of all just emotion, if I delayed a moment to express my grateful thanks for a proceeding so friendly, and so honorable toward myself.

I wish my stay in this vicinity could be such as to afford me an opportunity of calling, individually, upon you, and all the members, and paying to each my personal regards.

There are, I know, members of the Council who entertain political opinions different from my own; and this makes me the more anxious to signify, in an emphatic manner, my sense, not only of the kindness and courtesy, but also of the manliness and independence, which characterize their votes.

I shall not have the pleasure, during my present visit of meeting the citizens of Boston.

What I have done within the last year, to maintain the Union, and to preserve the relations of peace, friendly intercourse, commerce and business among all the States, has not been done in a corner; and I shall not go into a corner to perform what may remain to be done. Nor shall I enter Faneuil Hall till its gates shall be thrown open, wide open, not "with impetuous recoil—grating harsh thunder," but with "harmonious sound, on golden hinges moving," to let in, freely and to overflowing, you and your fellow-citizens, and all men, of all parties, who are true to the Union as well as to Liberty; men who can look around, on the faces of the patriots which adorn the walls of that sacred Temple, draw in with their deepest breath the appropriate inspiration, and stand upright and erect upon its pavement, in mind and heart elate, in the consciousness that they, too, are Americans, lovers of their country, and their whole country, and not unworthy to follow in the footsteps of their great forefathers.

If Providence should be pleased to spare my life and health till that hour comes, I shall meet the citizens of Boston, and my voice shall be heard, once more, in the Cradle of American Liberty.

Till then, again thanking you and the members of the Council, I bid you and them, Farewell!

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The two letters and the preamble and resolves were ordered to be printed.

THE CUBAN EXPEDITION.

THE expedition to Cuba has been arrested, so far as this city is concerned, during the past week, by the U. S. Marshal by the surrender of the Steamer Cleopatra, which was engaged for the expedition, and nearly ready for sea. A large number of men were loitering about Perth Amboy for a day or two evidently ready to embark at a moment's notice. This proceeding led to the active measures which were subsequently taken. A correspondent of the Newark Advertiser makes the following Statement in relation to these men.

As various incorrect statements respecting the "Cuban Expedition" from South Amboy, have appeared in some of the New York papers, I have taken the liberty of sending you a true history of the affair, obtained from those who were actors in the matter. It appears that information was received at the Custom House in the afternoon of Wednesday last that a body of emigrants was to be transported from South Amboy to Sandy Hook during that night, and that a sloop chartered for that purpose in New York had been lying at the wharf for 24 hours.

Such an arrangement being unusual, and exciting suspicion, the Deputy Collector for this District, accompanied by two officers of the Customs, proceeded to South Amboy to ascertain, if possible, the object of such an embarkation. Some 50 fine looking men landed from the steamer John Potter a few moments previously, were found in groops acting the emigrant, and the captain of the sloop expected 150 more before 11 P. M., by the Philadelphia trains. Some further conversation with the captain resulted in an order to take the sloop to Perth Amboy, and anchor there until further orders.

This was promptly obeyed. Signals were found on board which had been given in charge of the captain, and were to have been used to communicate with the steamer expected to be anchored off the Hook in waiting for the emigrants. These were given up. A letter to the Collector, U. S. Distritt Attorney and U. S. Marshal at New York, were immediately prepared, and dispatched in the night by special messengers.

Two of the supposed leaders of the party went to New York at three o'clock on Thursday morning in the steamer Transport. A strict watch was kept on the remainder of the party until Friday at 7 P. M., when these "adventurous patriots" left for New York in the steamer John Potter.

Mr. Tallmage, U. S. Marshal for New York, came down a few minutes after the departure of the boat, and consequently was unable to recognize any of the "emigrants."

—After the seizure of the Cleopatra information was received which led to the issue of warrants for the arrest of several persons. They were, according to the *Evening Post*, whose statement we copy:

Mr. Lewis, captain of the steamer, and former commander of the Creole, which it will be remembered was engaged in the first expedition against Cuba; John L. O'Sullivan, William T. Rogers, Jr., Dr. David H. Burnett, Jose Sanchez Yznega, and Luis Schlesinger, who was formerly a major in the Hungarian army, during the war between Hungary and Austria. Yznega is a Cuban, and has long been popular among those of his countrymen opposed to the Government of Spain, and Dr. Burnett has for some years been a resident of this city.

The warrant upon which the above parties have been arrested, was under the sixth section of the neutrality act of the 20th April, 1818, by which all persons in this country engaged in, or aiding any military expedition or enterprise against any nation with which the United States are at peace, but more particularly against the Island of Cuba, shall be held amenable to the provisions and penalties of the act. The arrests were made through information obtained from several Germans and Hungarians, of whom about eighty were engaged in the expedition. As they were about leaving this port in the steamer John Potter, which was to sail on Friday evening from South Amboy for the purpose of placing her passengers on board the steamer Cleopatra, when she should have cleared from this port, officer Rakiel Swits, one of the United States Marshal's aids, went among the Germans, and obtained intelligence of their designs.

The information thus procured went to show that it was the intention of the leaders to steer direct for New Orleans, and thence to some other American port before landing at Cuba. When he had obtained this intelligence, the officer induced several of the Germans, by what means we are not advised, to return to this city and make a statement of the facts to the Marshal, upon which he immediately proceeded to arrest the gentlemen above named.

On searching between the decks and hold of the Cleopatra, about twenty-four kegs of gunpowder and four heavy bales of soldiers' blankets were discovered. The steamer is at present under the discipline of a captured vessel. Six sentinels pace her deck day and night, and no person is allowed on board without permission from the Marshal.

This morning, considerable excitement prevailed about the United States Marshal's office, and a large number of persons had assembled to hear the examination of the parties under arrest. After a delay of two hours, however, it was determined to lay the case over till Tuesday, the 13th May, when the District Attorney will bring it before the Grand Jury. The alleged leaders were admitted to bail in the amount of $3,000 each.

Simultaneously with these proceedings comes the Proclamation of the President, but too late, as it would seem, to be of service anywhere, as the expedition has probably gone forward from the South, and here it was arrested not by the President but the Marshal:

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, April 25, 1851.

Whereas, there is reason to believe that a military expedition is about to be fitted out in the United States with the intention to invade the island of Cuba, a colony of Spain with which this country is at peace, and whereas it is believed that this expedition is instigated and set on foot by foreigners, who dare to make our shores the scene of their guilty and hostile preparations against a friendly power, and seek, by falsehood and misrepresentation, to seduce our own citizens, especially the young and inconsiderate, into their wicked schemes an ungrateful return for the benefits conferred upon them by this people, in permitting them to make our country an asylum from oppression, and in flagrant abuse of the hospitality thus extended to them.

And whereas such expeditions can only be regarded as adventurers for plunder and robbery, and must meet the condemnation of the civilized world, whilst they are derogatory to the character of our country, in violation of the laws of nations, and expressly prohibited by our own—our statutes declare that if any persons shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begin or set on foot, or provide or prepare the means for any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the territory or domains of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people with whom the United States are at peace, every person so offending shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding three thousand dollars, and imprisoned not more than three years.

Now, therefore, I have issued this my proclamation, warning all persons who shall connect themselves with any such enterprise, or expedition, in violation of our laws and national obligations, that they will thereby subject themselves to the heavy penalties denounced against such offences, and will forfeit their claim to the protection of this government, or any interference in their behalf, no matter to what extremities they may be reduced in consequence of their illegal conduct; and therefore, I expect all good citizens, as they regard our national reputation—as they respect their own laws, and the laws of nations—as they value the blessings of peace and the welfare of their country, to discountenance, and by all lawful means prevent, any such enterprise: and to call upon every officer of this government, civil or military, to use all efforts in his power to arrest for trial and punishment, every such offender against the laws of the country.

Given under my hand, the twenty-fifth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, and the seventy-fifth of the independence of the United States.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

By the President.
W. D. DERRICK, Acting Secretary of State.

PARTIZAN FAIRNESS.—*The Tribune* of Monday morning flushes up with one of those blushes of virtuous indignation which not unfrequently suffuses its mild and philosophical countenance. Speaking of Mr. Sumner's election it says:

Previous to the final ballot in the Massachusetts Legislature resulting in the election of Charles Sumner to the U. S Senate, it is well known that several fraudulent votes were cast, and that, in order to avoid this, each person was required to put his vote in a sealed envelope. At the very first ballot after this was done, Mr Sumner was elected.

The *Courier des Etats Unis* which, as we are confident, aims to be fair in its statements concerning American politics, allows it to be understood that these fraudulent ballots were cast by the friends of Mr. Sumner, and other papers make similar statements. Now we regard this idea as entirely set aside by the final result. That result showed Mr Sumner to be in the majority, and we have no doubt that had the same precaution been taken, he would have been elected before. It looks most likely that these votes were cast by the Hunker Loco opponents of Mr. Sumner, who, after a long, desperate resistance, saw no other means of preventing his election. It is certainly not according to fair play to attribute it to his friends, and therefore, though we have no other interest in the matter, we make this correction.

—Of course our good neighbor has no other interest than fair play—it never has. Nevertheless, it knows that at the last balloting previous to that which elected Mr. Sumner, there were two fraudulent votes, and that at the next balloting—that which elected him—the two fraudulent votes were missing, and Mr. Winthrp, the Whig candidate had precisely *two* less than at the previous trial. The rascally Locofocs!

THE PRICE OF A SLAVE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The surrender of Sims is said to have cost the General Government ten thousand dollars, the City of Boston about the same amount, and Mr. Potter, the claimant, about twenty-four hundred, making altogether something more than the pretty sum of twenty-two thousand dollars as the price of a slave in Boston.

Domestic Correspondence.

From Our Boston Correspondent.

NO. LXXIX.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent at a Nonplus—Kidnapping of Sims—Dissatisfactions—The Merchants—The heroes of Cock's tails and gingerbread—The Reverend Clergy—The hoped-for Millennium and Reign of the Saints—Practical Piety versus Theoretic Theology—Christian Union—Disappointed Divinity—The Catechumens of the Sabbath School—Proposed Conference Meetings—Consolations—The fruit, present and prospective, of the Acorn—The ominous Elections—A disconsolate Secretary—His Progress through the State—Refusal of Faneuil Hall—Its effect—A half-saved Union—The Revere House Meeting—Going, going, gone!—Interview of Civic Fathers with Defender of Constitution—Dramatic Sketch—Mr. Webster satisfied with the state of his health and of the weather—God-like Saubbing—Mr. Sumner's Election—Long faces—Swearing—Virtue of the secret ballot—Conclusion of the whole matter. &c., &c., &c.*

BOSTON, April 28th, 1851.

I sit down to write to you this morning quite at a loss! Not for want of matter, but from difficulty of choice! Of choice of what to say and where to begin! The completion of the kidnapping conspiracy against poor Sims; the triumphal progress of Daniel Webster; the elections of Charles Allen and Charles Sumner; and many other happenings enough to furnish matter for a century of such gossippings as mine. But perhaps I may as well begin at the beginning, or the offering of poor Sims as a living sacrifice to propitiate the mercy of the god of this land to Boston coasters and dry-goods shops. I shall not repeat the story of the solemn march of the victim over the stones of State Street, which were ready to cry out against him for the mischief he came near working to Boston trade. I did not happen to be there, unfortunately, and therefore can add nothing to the authentic accounts you have already given. I can, however, testify to the general dissatisfaction which obtained in view of the sneaking way in which this great public duty was performed. The merchants were indignant that that sacred procession was not had at the hour of High 'Change, when they could all have been thrilled with the patriotic emotions the spectacle was fitted to inspire. The military heroes who had been compelled to content themselves all night with locking at one anothers' cock's tails and ginger-bread streaks in Faneuil Hall, instead of displaying them before Israel and the Sun, slunk behind their counters the next morning in deep wrath at being thus robbed at once of glory and of sleep. But the deepest disappointment was felt by the Reverend Clergy, who justly felt themselves wronged in being robbed of their due place immediately after the principal performer, as well as of their share in the services of the occasion. Though not strictly in their confidence, I believe I shall not be contradicted when I say, that it was intended to make this occasion a genuine Love Feast, a veritable Christian Union, a true Theological Millennium, in which Orthodox lambs were to lie down with heterodox lions, in which no pale should separate well-fed Churchman from gaunt Dissenter, where no quantity and no lack of the waters of Baptism should divide any more the true Saints of God. It was to be a grand exemplification of the attractive force of true Christianity, authenticated by the American brand, to draw together all that is holy in the various sects, by the power of practical virtue prevailing over theoretic dogmas.

What is the Trinity, what Total Depravity, what the Perseverance of the Saints, what Episcopacy, Presbyterianism or Independency, what Immersion or Pædo-baptism when confronted with the living Gospel truth, "thou *shalt* bewray him that wandereth and him that escapeth from his master unto thee thou *shalt* restore unto him?" It is understood that Professor Stuart was to head the procession hand in hand with that stray sheep from his fold, now for the first time restored to his bosom, Dr. Dewey, who had come on from New York express for this jubilee. The Reverend Dr. Hawks, who had accompanied his heretical brother on the same joyful errand, was to fraternize with the Rev. William M. Rogers, as typical of the unity of Anglicanism and Dissent on points of practical piety. The Rev. Drs. Sharpe and Waterbury were to symbolize the insignificance of dipping and of sprinkling in the formation of the Christian character, when compared with the vital religion of catching impenitent niggers and conducting them back to the holy influences from the sphere of which they had sinfully removed themselves. The other reverend professors and pastors who have set forth the gospel of slavecatching from their pulpits, or who have subscribed themselves among the disciples of the present Incarnation of that divine truth, were to follow in their due order and to partake in the religious services which were to invoke the blessing of God upon the Acorn, its owner and its consignee. You may judge of the indignant

stuffing, could perform the part of the Mayor of Garratt* without rehearsal, ventured to put in,

"Mr. Webster, I hope you enjoy your health, Sir?"

"My health's good enough," muttered the Wilmot Thunderer.

The Mayor succumbing, one of the worshipful Aldermen undertook to make the *frais* of the conversation.

"We have a fine day after the storm, Sir!"

"The weather's well enough!" quoth the Defender, and our Civic Fathers sneaked out of the presence, considering themselves *snubbed*. I was not present myself, but this is the story told about the streets, and, when told with appropriate imitations, it is no bad one.

You should have seen the faces in State Street on Wednesday, when the (then unfounded) rumor prevailed that Mr. Sumner had been elected! None but faces made of *dough* could have been capable of such preternatural elongation. And if you could have heard the *swearing*, your hair would have stood on end! Terribly as the army of Marlborough may have sworn in Flanders, if the testimony of Trim is to be believed, it was nothing to the Swearing of that day. And it was, certainly, no wonder. If ever the relief of swearing was allowable (you know some philosophers hold that *swearing* is the same relief to men that *crying* is to women), it was on that day. After so much money had been spent, after all the influences of Whigs and Democrats had been brought to bear on the Legislature, after a nigger had been caught and kept and sent back at so great an expense, to find that the whole work was undone and worse than before it was begun! It was provoking enough, to be sure! Even when the relief came, it was robbed of half its balm by the fearful looking for the morrow. Perhaps it was well that the blow was thus broken, as possibly some of our patriotic merchants might have died no other death. It was bad enough on Thursday, when the secret ballot showed that Mr. Sumner was elected the day before with one to spare, and established the fact that he had just enough, then. The secret ballot was adopted on motion of a Whig, on suspicion that some Free Soiler had cast more than one vote. But the result put the boot on the other leg, as Mr. Sumner had exactly the same number of votes as before, and Mr. Winthrop two less! The Free Soilers are in high feather, and the Coalition Democrats even more rejoiced than they, as they have reason to be, their credit being now again at par. It is a fact unparalleled in this State, if not in the country, that a man who had never been a candidate for any, the least, office, and never dabbled in politics at all, should be invested with the highest office in the gift of the State, without solicitation or even wish on his part. It is, certainly, a creditable circumstance to all concerned.—D. Y.

* *Jerry Sneak*, Printer's Devil.

Communications.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF CANADA.

It had long been desired by many friends of the African race to have an ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for UPPER CANADA, with its head-quarters in Toronto. Several attempts had been made to accomplish it, but without success. The passage of the atrocious Fugitive Slave Bill gave a new impulse to the friends of justice, and of sympathy for the oppressed. It seemed impossible to witness the arrival, in Canada, of so many sufferers under that law, without being convinced of the duty of crying aloud to our neighbors across the Line, to stay their hands from prosecuting a system of such iniquity, and of inviting and urging them, by every consideration arising from our common Christianity, to put a stop to it for ever, by the abolition of Slavery. It is matter for sincere joy to every friend of liberty and of universal philanthropy, that the first steps have at length been taken in this great cause; and in laying before their fellow-citizens, and others at a distance, the following short account of the formation of the UPPER CANADA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the Committee earnestly request the support of the Public to its objects.

The Public Meeting for organizing the Society was held in the City Hall, on Wednesday, the 26th February, 1851. HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR presided. It was one of the most enthusiastic and numerous Assemblies ever held in Toronto.

The Rev. Dr. WILLIS having opened the Meeting with Prayer, the first resolution was moved by Rev. Mr. MCCLURE, seconded by Rev. Prof. ESON, and carried as follows:

1st. That Slavery, that is, the wanton and forcible bringing into bondage, and retaining indefinitely in that state, of rational beings, is an outrage on the laws of humanity, and of the Bible; and that the continued existence of the practice on this continent is just cause of grief, and demands our best exertions, by all lawful and practical means, for its extinction.

It was moved by Rev. Dr. WILLIS, seconded by Mr. PETER BROWN, and carried:

2nd. That, entertaining the feelings of brethren and friends to the inhabitants of the neighboring States, [for the most part united to us by a common origin and common language,] and disclaiming all desire to intermeddle officiously with their internal affairs, we feel we but take the privilege of our common humanity, in asserting that the Slavery enforced under their laws is not to be confounded with ordinary oppression, however severe, either political or domestic, civil, military, or naval; but is the forced servitude in perpetuity of the helpless poor, unaccused, untried, and uncondemned; imposed on them by a power which they cannot resist, supported by laws in which they have no voice. These laws—grievously aggravated by the Fugitive Slave Bill—are at open variance with the best interests of man, as endowed by our Great Creator with the privilege "of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—privileges and rights always inalienable, except when forfeited by crime charged and proved.

It was moved by Rev. Mr. LILLIE, seconded by Rev. Mr. ROAF, and carried:

3d. That this Meeting heartily bids God-speed to the noble and ever-increasing band of Christians and Patriots in the United States—the truest friends, in this particular, of their country,—who publicly plead without fear or favor, the cause of their enslaved fellow-subjects, by all constitutional and Christian means, pursuing this object with singleness of aim, and not mixing it up with ulterior and irrelevant designs.

It was moved by Mr. PLUMMER, seconded by Rev. Mr. GEIKIE, and carried:

4th. That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada," the object of which shall be to aid in the extinction of Slavery all over the world, by means exclusively lawful and peaceable, moral and religious, such as the diffusing of useful information and argument, by tracts, newspapers, lectures, and correspondence, and by manifesting sympathy with the houseless and homeless victims of Slavery flying to our soil.

It was moved by Captain STUART, seconded by Mr. T. J. SHORT, and carried:

5th. That a Committee, now to be named, shall be appointed, with suitable officers, who shall conduct the business of the Society, have power to make bye-laws, and shall meet on an early day for that purpose—three to be a quorum.

RULES.

I.

That this association be called "THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF CANADA," and have for its object the promotion of right principles upon the subject of Slavery, and co-operation with similar Societies already formed, in diffusing information, and seeking to awaken greater zeal in religious bodies in regard to this momentous question.

II.

That all persons paying TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE per annum shall be entitled to be Members of the Association.

III.

That the Society shall hold an Annual Meeting, at which the proceedings of the past year shall be reported, and the account of Funds received and disbursed shall be submitted.

IV.

That the business of the Society shall be conducted by a Committee appointed by the Annual Meeting.

V.

That the Committee shall meet on the first Monday of each Month, for the prosecution of business, such Meeting to be announced previously by the Secretaries; who may also, with the consent of the President, or, in his absence, of their own accord, convene Extraordinary Meetings of the Committee, as occasion may require; three to form a quorum.

VI.

That applications for Subscriptions be made to the friends of this cause, in the City of Toronto and elsewhere, as soon as possible after the Annual Public Meeting.

VII.

That a course of Lectures be delivered Annually by Ministers of the Gospel and others, on the subject of SLAVERY, so as to meet prevalent fallacies on the question, opposed to Scripture as well as humanity.

VIII.

That this Constitution shall not be altered or amended, unless after notice of such proposed alteration or amendment has been given One Month previously.

The following Gentlemen constitute the Office-Bearers, for the year 1851:

Rev. M. Willis, D. D., *President*.
Rev. William McClure, *Secretary*.
Thomas Henning, Capt. Charles Stuart, *Corresponding Secretaries*.
Andrew Hamilton, *Treasurer*.

Committee.

Samuel Alcorn,	T. J. Short,
W. R. Abbot,	O. Mowatt,
P. Brown,	Rev. John Roaf,
Rev. Dr. Burns,	John McMurrich,
Dr. Connor,	A. T. McCord,
George Brown,	Angus Morrison.
John Doel, Jun.	John McNab,
Rev. H. Esson,	G. P. Ridout,
James Foster,	J. Laidlaw,
Patrick Freeland,	Mr. Pea,
Rev. A. Geikie,	Rev. J. Pyper,
James Lesslie,	T. J. Tyner,
John Shaw,	J. Woodhouse,
Rev. A. Lillie,	Rev. James Richardson,
	Dr. Russell.

LETTER FROM G. W. F. MELLEN.

To the Editor of the Standard.

DEAR SIR: Having had my time much occupied for the past five or six months, I have not noticed some things in the 'Standard' which I should like to have done; but now, when the country is *quieted*, and *peace* is restored, I should like, with your permission, to say a few words to your readers, both by the way of improvement, exhortation and encouragement. With your kind good will, I trust you will give me a hearing

First, by the way of improvement, my object is to improve and correct the ideas, so prevalent in the community, respecting the legality of Slavery. You know I entertain the notion that there is no legal Slavery in the United States, nor has been since our Constitution was adopted, but that that institution has been continued in spite of that instrument. Now, having that peculiar notion in my head, I am anxious to obey the injunction of Scripture, and not "put my light under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may give light unto all that are in the house;" and I will, if you please, use your paper as that candlestick, because, being centrally situated and speaking in the name of the Abolitionists, it is right and proper it should be known what are the notions entertained among this body, however retired they may be. For myself, I cannot but think that peace, or a revolution of some kind, whether bloody or otherwise, must await the events now transpiring, according as persons make up their minds on the subject of the power of persons holding their fellow men in bondage in this country, under our Constitution, without crime. Our country is a free country, or it is not. For sixty-seven years, we have been boasting of our liberties, and praising the fathers for their exertions in establishing its precedent then; but now we wake up and find it is all a dream; that they established no such thing; that although they became independent of Great Britain, they only effected that object that they might the more "artfully" contrive language, in the formation of their government, by which they could more effectually enslave their brother man, and make the personal liberty of every member of the community more dangerous than it had ever been before; and in pursuance of such an idea, a law has been passed that would disgrace the dark ages, and change this whole country into a great menagerie, where man is to be hunted like partridges on the mountains; and it has already become dangerous for a large portion of the community to travel from one portion of the country to the other, lest they be endangered of their liberties or their lives. Now, is this the liberty our fathers left us, or is it not? Has all our boasting been that of dreamers? and are the praises we have been bestowing upon our progenitors, for their valor in the field and their wisdom in council, to bring about civil and religious freedom, been given to men unworthy to receive it? These are questions the American people have got to ask themselves; and if they mean to make this land the land of the free, they have either to bring about a revolution, or else go intelligently to work and clear the rubbish from the foundation which our fathers have laid, and continue to build the walls of the temple which by them was left unfinished. Now is the time, and now the hour, for this decision to be made. The Fugitive Slave Law gives us a fitting occasion for the question to be pressed upon all our minds.

In view of this slave law, and the remarks made by Mr. P. Shapter in the 'Standard' of the 13th inst., and of E. Q., sometime since, I would take the ground that that law is entirely unconstitutional, and that he is equally mistaken in his observations; and, since our judges are returning the fugitives, it would be well to enter on a discussion on these points. For one, I should like to know on what Mr. Shapter bases his remark, that the section returning the fugitive from service is so "*artfully*" contrived that it would not have to be altered if Slavery was this day abolished. I have heard this kind of expression before, and it seems to run in the heads of many of our people that "art" was used by the framers of the Constitution to cover up a meaning in the wording of that instrument by which Slavery should be maintained, and yet not be apparent to the eye. Permit me to say that, after twelve years' searching for such a fact, I have not found it; but, on the contrary, upon reading the Madison Papers on the subject, and Eliot's reports of the different Conventions that adopted that instrument as the supreme law of the land, that the peculiar phraseology in this clause respecting the fugitive, the introduction of persons into this country till 1808, and the enumeration of persons that should constitute the basis of representation, was not put there for any "*artful*" purpose, but with a sincere determination not "to admit in the Constitution the idea there could be property in man," or that man could be merchandize; and these sentences were so construed, either by the positive direction of the convention, or the committee, in style and arrangement, whose duty it was to make the wording express the views of the convention, and not let two opposing ideas be embodied in that instrument. The only clause, however, which this committee added on this subject, so far as I am aware, was the one respecting the fugitive, and which afterwards received the sanction of the convention. It was, in these words: "to whom such service or labor may be DUE;" and you will perceive it is an important addition, for it determines the point as to the necessity of there being a contract made between the parties, and that it should be *due*, before the fugitive from service (not servitude) should be given up; and remember it was *service*, which has relation to free labor, and not *servitude*, as the convention and all our dictionaries had decided had relation to slave labor.

Now, it should and ought to be remembered that, while the members from South Carolina and Georgia were anxious to engraft on the Constitution that there could be property in man, and in this very case had introduced a clause stating, in direct terms, "that slaves and servants should be returned like criminals," yet that convention refused to entertain the subject, and the proposition was at once withdrawn without its being put to vote, so universal was the expression against it. But, now, Congress makes it the subject of legislation, and the President proclaims that the whole military and naval force must be put in requisition to force the fugitive *slave* back to his chains; and the Court of the United States, in my humble opinion, in violation of their oath of office, entertain the subject, and talk of the slave, and of his being property, with as much flipancy as any slave driver in the Southern States, when they know that the framers of the Constitution, under which they derive all their authority, refused to recognize in that instrument the idea there could be property in man; and Mr. Shapter quotes from a South Carolina Judge, who probably himself was or is an owner of slaves, and who would have convicted himself of violating the Constitution of his country, which he had sworn to support, if he had decided otherwise, as being conclusive on the subject. More anon.

G. W. F. M.

LETTER FROM JOSEPH CARPENTER.

NEW ROCHELLE, 4th month 20th, 1851.

To the Editor of the Standard.

DEAR FRIEND: It will be gratifying, I am sure, to the advocates and friends of Equal Rights to be informed that we have obtained a victory in this town, better worth an illumination than all the victories gained in Mexico, throughout the whole of that bloody campaign.

The conflict has, indeed, been long and arduous. It commenced in the autumn of 1842, if I mistake not; the attentive reader of *The Standard* will readily call to mind the circumstance, as it was published in that paper, which was then edited by Lydia M. Child; but for the information of those who have not seen that account, I will state some of the most prominent facts. The town of New Rochelle is between six and and seven miles in length, and is divided into two districts. There are three free schools in the township, two of them located in the village, one of which is exclusively for colored children. The third is situated in district No. 2, near the north extremity of the township, about four miles distant from the colored school; this school has been the the principal cause of all our difficulties on this subject, for when the friends of equal rights have remonstrated with the trustees and others that were in favor of excluding colored scholars, they would invariably point us to the colored school established purposely for them, and to that they contended they ought to go, notwithstanding the distance from the northeast extremity of the township was more than five miles.

The operation of these colored district schools, are daily proving that the Abolitionists prophesied truly when they declared that they would be a curse to the colored population.

But we have, by patience and perseverance, after a nine years' struggle, succeeded in getting the district school No. 2 open for colored children. This circumstance is truly encouraging, and should stimulate the friends of equality to greater faithfulness.

Before I lay down my pen, I feel as if I ought just to say, that some of the sentiments advanced by th t devoted friend of humanity, Richard D. Webb, in his last letter published in *The Standard*, of 3d month, 20th, affected me rather unpleasantly. He says in that letter, if I understand him correctly, that he considers the "promulgation, and practice of abstinence from slave-grown products, when applied to Slavery, a quack medicine, entirely inefficient, and not calculated to check the disease."

The above is friend Webb's honest opinion, I have no doubt, and I would gladly unite with him in that opinion if I could: for I know by some small degree of experience that the medicine he alludes to is not very pleasant to take, and that the patient is under the disagreeable necessity of denying himself many luxuries and likewise to make some pecuniary sacrifices whilst he is under treatment, but only let the use of the medicine become universal throughout the free States, and a speedy cure is sure to follow, as sure as effects follow causes.

How our friend Webb will succeed in promulgating purer principles, and a nobler morality, whilst he is dealing freely with those he denounces as legalised thieves and robbers, I must confess, remains a mystery to me. I hope he will favor the readers of *The Standard*, in his next letter, with an explanation. Abolitionists are, I think, lamentably inconsistent on this subject. Thine for liberty and equality,

JOSEPH CARPENTER.

LETTER FROM HENRY W. DAVISON.

KINGSTON, Jamaica, April 4th, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR: It appears from the present events that the Aristocratic powers (late Slaveocracy) are again rampant in the Island, threatening to strangle the new-born liberties of the late emancipated people, to cut them off from every chance of rising to civic honors, and to do everything in their power to crush their friends with them, whether white or black. And I regret to say that they find support and assistance from many high in judicial authority.

In a few parishes, lately, the Liberals succeeded in completely routing the old faction. In the parish of St. Davids, in the parochial election, the whole Liberal ticket was elected; but on the occurrence of a vacancy, the Tories determined that bribery and brute force should carry their nomination; so they collected large amounts in this city from their supporters, and employed a large number of blackguards or bullies, with bludgeons, to go up to the election, and succeeded thus in keeping many Liberals from going to the polls on account of the fear of personal injury; it being evident, however, that, notwithstanding their great expenses and illegal acts, the Liberals would carry the day, they, supported by partial officers, succeded in having recorded a number of bad votes, and carried the election by one majority. The colored and black voters were turned out in the severest storm and rain, and, being otherwise shamefully maltreated, they became enraged and retaliated. Their opponents, backed by high judicial authority, resorted to legal prosecution, and caused upwards of fifty of the principal vestrymen and churchwardens (black and colored only) to be put to great trouble, expense and annoyance, hoping thereby to degrade them by bringing them to a criminal trial. The only effect on them, however, will be to make them more acute and fearless in doing their duty at the Senatorial and Civic Boards, where many of them have seats, and more energetic in every parish in increasing and having the Liberal votes recorded, and in opposing the common enemy, whatever persecution they may suffer for standing forward for Truth. I feel confident that the prosecutions of Messrs. Jordon, Cuthberts, and others, will infuse new power and spirit into the Liberal party, and impel it to go on in the work of reformation; and another good result will be that the people will not be again so easily gulled by the false professions and wily entreaties of their enemies. I am glad to say that our juries, composed almost entirely of the colored and black people, will give an honest and independent verdict, treating with scorn and indignation the attempts that will be made to coerce or bribe them from the faithful discharge of their duty to God and their countrymen.

This is no doubt contrary to the version you will find in our Island pro-slavery prints, and that have undoubtedly been copied in yours, with fearful statements of the insubordination and barbarism of the emancipated blacks. But the friends of Freedom must beware of listening to them, for there is not a more maligned and slandered people (in or out of the Island) than the blacks or former slaves of Jamaica. They have many hardships still to contend with that are quite unknown to those who do not witness them, and which can only be understood by residing among us. The friends of this class who have faithfully stood by them are not exempted from many persecutions. But let us console ourself that the present powers that love to do wrong will be soon crushed, never to rise again; and our conscience will assure us that we have been the feeble instruments of accomplishing complete and entire civil and religious liberty in Jamaica; and, with a strong hope that you will speedily congratulate us on that result, I am, my dear sir,

Yours faithfully,
HENRY W. DAVISON.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI.

Pursuant to notice the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause assembled at Center Hall, on the evening of April 14, 1851, and were called to order by Dr. W. H. Brisbane, of Cheviot. Officers *pro tem.* were chosen as follows: Thomas Freeman, of Cincinnati, President; and Edward Mathews, Secretary. The call for the Convention was read by the Secretary. Prayer by Wm. McCullough. A Committee was appointed to nominate permanent Officers of the Convention. Committee: Christian Donaldson, John De Graw, and Edward Harwood, of Cincinatti. Dr. Brisbane, in behalf of the ladies who had called the Convention, stated its object.

In the afternoon of Tuesday the following persons were elected permanent officers of the Convention.

President—L. A. Hine, of Cincinnati.

Vice Presidents—Thos. Freeman and John Jolliffe, of Cincinnati.

Secretaries—Edward Mathews of Wisconsin, and Sarah H. Ernest, of Cincinnati.

The President on taking the chair made an appropriate address.

The following Preamble and Resolutions were introduced by the committee and by other members of the Convention. They were discussed during Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday by Messrs. Ward, Nevin, Treat, Rankin, Reddington, Mathews, Craven, Wambaugh, Price and others, and were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, we have assembled at a period when the Anti-Slavery cause has reached a most eventful crisis, and whereas many in all parts of the country will be looking to us for an expression of our views in this important stage of our enterprise, therefore, this Convention, as such an expression of its sentiments, adopts the following Resolutions.

1. That Liberty and Justice are in danger in the land; three millions of our fellow beings are in chains; a Fugitive Law has been passed, and throughout the length and breadth of the land the Slave Power threatens to reign supreme.

2. That *now*, therefore, is no time to sleep; it is no time to be dead; it is the time to wake, and work, and live anew in the cause. It is the time to do, and suffer, and if need be, die; it is the time for every one who claims to be a friend of the slave to lay his *all* upon the altar; to harness himself anew for the conflict; to throw himself into the thickest of the fight: and instead of being discouraged and tempted to lay down arms by the untoward events of these times, to lay himself out to do still more and more, neither giving nor taking quarter, till Slavery shall be—not circumscribed in its limits—not defeated in its demands with regard to the Fugitive Law—not divorced from the General Government—but *actually and wholly abolished from the land*.

3. That, as a great crisis demands great exertions, and as "in union there is strength," the present alarming condition of things requires of all Abolitionists, that, so far as possible, they *unite*, and *stand together*, endeavoring, on one common platform, to *re-organize* the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, and thus to enlist the combined energy of all who hate oppression, in one determined system of efforts to destroy this blighting curse, and to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

4. That in carrying on such a system of efforts, Mass Conventions of the friends of the slave, irrespective of sect or party, ought to be held in all parts of the country. Lecturers should be sent out to preach the gospel of emancipation in every town and village: Anti-Slavery books, tracts, and newspapers, should be scattered broadcast over the land; the question of abolition should be brought home to every man's hearthstone; and a continual *agitation* thus be kept up, till the national conscience shall be roused, the public heart changed, and, as a necessary consequence, Slavery peaceably abolished.

5. That Liberty and Slavery are as antagonistic to each other as light and darkness, and therefore both cannot co-exist in the same country and under the same government.

6. That Slavery as it exists in the United States, is the greatest political and civil despotism on the face of the earth.

7. That Slavery is antagonistic to the Christian religion, and is its greatest enemy in this country.

8. That slaveholding is practical Atheism, and pro-slavery ministers and Church members are merely impostors under the cloak of religion.

9. That the Fugitive Slave Law passed and approved last September, is a most flagrant outrage upon the right of freemen; a most flagrant violation of the Federal Constitution; and therefore it is an act against which the moral, social, and political influence of all the people ought to be arrayed.

10. That the recent delivery of Sims to his claimants in Boston, is a demonstration of the utter and hopeless subserviency of the National Administration to the Slave Power, and the readiness of the ruling politicians of our country to place the whole North under the despotism of military rule, to further the heaven daring objects and purposes of the Slave Power.

11. That our friends in Boston, who so nobly stood by Crafts and his wife, and Shadrach and Sims, deserve and receive the approval and the sympathy of this Convention, and the friends of humanity every where.

12. That in the growing and increasing influence of the Slave Power, we see abundant evidence of the need and imperative demand of the renewed zeal and energy of philanthropists, for the overthrow of this accursed system. For either Slavery and its kindred atrocities must be destroyed, or the day will soon come when the North and the South, blacks and the whites, will be subjects of a common and hopeless lot—victims alike of a Slavery which knows no parallel.

13. That whatever are, or may be, our different views and opinions about voting, and political parties, we are united in the declaration, that any man who votes for any of the friends, aiders or abettors of the Fillmore kidnapping law, ought to be regarded as a practical enemy to God and humanity.

14. That we wish to have it distinctly understood, that, iniquitous as we regard the Fugitive Slave Law, we yet consider it as nothing in atrocity compared with the Slavery which it was passed to uphold and defend: this last is the great thing, the other is only an offshoot therefore it is no mark of a true abolitionist merely to oppose and seek to repeal, or even to disobey, that law but all men are bound to go further, and strike at the *root* whence that sprang, and not to rest contented till they have destroyed the *life of the parent tree itself*.

15. That the treatment recently received by our brother Edward Mathews, at the hands of Kentucky ruffians, under the conniving eyes of a pro-slavery Government and a pro-slavery Church, shows that there is and can be no safety in a Southern State, to any one who has conscience enough to speak a word in favor of human freedom; and hence it becomes all who would not be slaves themselves, to be ready to lay down their lives, if need be, in pressing onward the doctrine and the work of emancipation.

16. That this meeting recommend the Eleutherian Institute, located in Jefferson county, Indianna, and that at Albany, Ohio, to the patronage of all the friends of justice and humanity, as being based upon principles of justice and benevolence, and with a special view to elevate the colored race, that have long been abused and placed by law under severe disabilities.

17. That, in carrying out any principle of moral reform, the conduct of those engaged in it should comport with their theory, and hence, so long as we treat our colored brethren as inferior beings, or live either directly or indirectly in church fellowship with slaveholders, or their apologists, our influence in the cause of human rights will be but limited.

18. That, however, the members of this Convention may differ on some points connected with the Anti-Slavery movement, they are perfectly agreed in this, that the North is to be held responsible for the existence of American Slavery; the people of the North are the real Slaveholders; they have the power to strike the system instantly dead; it exists only by their sufferance—only because they on the whole wish to have it exist; and therefore, there can be no hope of its peaceable extinction in this country till the public sentiment of the North has been radically, and fundamentally changed.

19. That we do now and hereby earnestly entreat the friends of humanity, in all parts of our country, to engage in producing this change, and use vigorously and efficiently the means and talents wherewith Providence has blessed them to set home the truth of Anti-Slavery to, and upon the consciences of our fellow citizens, knowing that such measures alone will answer our responsibilities to God, the slaveholder and the slave, our neighbor, and ourselves!

20. That this Convention cannot but utter its voice of unqualified condemnation, of the wicked and ungenerous spirit exhibited by the great State of Ohio, in continuing in its recently framed Constitution, to exclude 40,000 of its weak and defenceless citizens from the *right of suffrage*—that great, fundamental, universal right of human beings—simply on account of the complexion which it has pleased the Creator to bestow on their skin.

21. That we heartily rejoice at the call for a Christian Anti-Slavery Convention to be held at Chicago, on the 3d of July next and also the suggestion in favor of a Mass Meeting of all who are opposed to the Fugitive Law to be held some time during the summer, and we hope that similar Conventions may be multiplied all over the country, and largely attended by the friends of the slave.

22. That the unity of purpose and harmony of feeling which have pervaded this Convention, made up as it has been of Abolitionists of all parties, in which freedom of opinion and utterance has been fully indulged, are a source of hope to the slave, and give us the assurance that we shall eventually triumph.

23 That we now adjourn to meet in this city, the 3d week in April, 1852.

The Convention was well attended at all its sessions, and in the evenings was crowded to the full capacity of the Hall, the two last evenings many going away from inability to find even standing room. Not the least sign of disturbance was manifested at any period of the Convention, and the earnest spirit and good feeling that prevailed was most encouraging to the friends of freedom.

RECEIPTS FOR THE STANDARD.

From April 1st, to May 1st, 1851.

614	A. F. Laing, Plainfield, N. J.	2 00
560	Truman Leavenworth, Canaan Four Corners, N. Y.	1 00
638	Daniel Ricketson, New Bedford, Mass.	2 00
572	Abner French, Richland, N. Y.	3 50
596	Wm. Marsh, Barre, N. Y.	2 00
572	Lewis Morgan, Marlboro, O.	4 50
511	Jonathan Davis, Berlin, O.	3 00
593	Calvin Brainard, West Randal, N. Y.	2 00
604	Samuel Lundy, Waterloo, N. Y.	2 00
527	S. A. Barrett, Milton, N. Y.	1 88
568	Wm. Powers, Silver Creek, N. Y.	5 40
586	Mrs. Samuel May, Boston, Mass.	2 00
574	Rev. J. Thurston, South Natick, Mass.	2 00
612	Lydia A. Wilbur, Swansey Village, Mass.	2 00
572	Jane Turner, Bridgewater, N. Y.	2 00
572	James F. Clarke, Meadville, Pa.	2 00
575	M. Tomlinson, Dallas, O.	2 00
594	A. Sumner, " "	3 00
572	G. W. Reynolds, Franklin, N. Y.	2 30
614	G. Iden, Sherwoods Corners, N. Y.	2 00
624	Slocum Howland, " "	2 00
572	J. D. Thomas, Springboro, O.	4 00
581	J. L. Haight, Nyack, N. Y.	0 50
590	Benj. White, Pennville, Ind.	2 00
614	E. D. Bailey, Haverhill, Mass.	2 00
572	P. R. Merriam, Ashburnham, Mass.	3 00
602	Wm. K. Foster, Canandagua, N. Y.	2 00
595	Amasa Stanton, Marion, N. Y.	1 00
612	Canada A. S. Society, Toronto, C. W.	2 00
601	David Joy, Northampton, Mass.	2 00
601	Rufus Ellis, " "	2 00
591	Hiram Putnam, Syracuse, N. Y.	2 00
590	Edwin Wilmarth, Greenwich, N. Y.	2 00
		$75 08

DONATIONS.

	S. Wetmore, New York City,	50 00
	Joseph Trevor, Lockport, N. Y.	1 00
		51 00

COLLECTIONS FOR THE A. S. SOCIETY BY S. S. AND A. K. FOSTER.

	H. Axtel, Chester Village, Mass.	1 00
	B. F. Whipple, " "	1 75
	Francis Hinkley, " "	0 50
	Rowena Hall, Rockton, N. Y.	0 50
	Collections over expenses, at Rochester,	8 00
	" " Seneca Falls, "	2 30
	" " Macedon Locks, "	1 25
	Richard Brition, Williamson, "	0 28
	Silas Anthony, " "	2 00
	S. Van Houton, " "	0 25
	Cash, " "	0 50
	Petus Allen, " "	0 93
	R. Kenyan, " "	1 00
	T. J. Peer, " "	0 50
	C. & M. Adams, " "	0 50
	Elizabeth Ann Stretch, "	2 00
	Harriet Kinyon, " "	1 00
	D. Underwood, " "	5 00
	G. Cooper, " "	5 00
	Hannah Maynard, " "	0 50
	Neebinookway, a Chippeway girl,	0 50
	Collection, Union Village, " "	14 37
	Robert Baker, Easton,	1 00
	Collections over expenses, Winfiel l,	0 66
	Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, to sustain C. C. Burleigh,	25 00
	J. C. Springstead, Cazenovia, N. Y.	0 50
	Collection over expenses, Auburn, N. Y.	13 35
	Collections at different times, Rochester,	127 70
	Sarah D. Fish, "	1 00
	Collection, Royalton Centre, "	4 45
	J. A. Cleveland, " "	1 00
	Isaac Perry, " "	2 00
	Collection, Chestnut Ridge, Royalton,	6 88
	Caroline M. Traver, Lockport, N. Y.	1 00
	Collection over expenses, "	0 94
	Wm. Waters, Pultneyville, "	0 15
	W. S. Throop, " "	1 00
	Stephen Trumbull, Marion, "	0 20
	Collections, " "	5 77
	Samuel Smith, " "	3 00
	Collection, Walworth, "	5 31
	J. N. Murick, " "	0 35
	Daniel Poppino, " "	1 00
	Collection, Cazenovia, N. Y. by F. Douglass,	2 30
		$305 19
		75 08
	Total	$380 27

OBITUARY.

FOGGERSON—At North Easton, N. Y., on the 10th of 4th month, 1851, Marvil, wife of Andrew Foggerson, in the 71st year of her age.

She was the daughter of Jonathan Hoag, and granddaughter of Anna Hoag, well known as an eminent minister in the Society of Friends, when a meeting was first settled in this vicinity 70 or 80 years since. The subject of this notice was educated in the Society, and was early convinced of the correctness of its principles. She loved its testimonies, and continued a faithful supporter of them to the close of her life. And she did not forget that among those testimonies was included a faithful, uncompromising opposition to injustice, cruelty and oppression—the corner-stone of the structure of Slavery. It was not the mere *name* of the Society that she loved; it was its noble principles, its important, practical application of the teachings of pure Christianity.

Hence, when those stern, inflexible opponents of Slavery and all its abettors and apologists, Stephen and Abby Foster came among us, having "No smooth tales to tell," while many were ready to reject and condemn them because they boldly attacked wrong in high places. Among professing Quakers as well as others, our departed sister was among the number who were willing to "Let truth be spoken, hit where it may." And she hesitated not to give countenance to the despised and hated Abolitionists. When, during the last summer, an association was formed in the neighborhood to aid in the "Free-Labor" movement. She gladly embraced an opportunity to join in the effort to avoid participancy in the fruits of Oppression; and when, a few weeks since, a District Anti-Slavery Society was formed, she was present at the meeting, and cheerfully gave in her name as one of its members. It was deeply interesting to mark the glow of animation which irradiated her dim eye, as she saw some of her children enrol their names in the cause of Justice and Humanity.

She was then feeble, but we had no apprehension that our little Society was so soon to part with one of its most beloved members. Early in the present month she was attacked with an inflammation of the lungs, and nature soon relaxed its feeble hold on mortality. She suffered much at intervals, and sometimes expressed a fear that her patience would not hold out, as she felt an anxious wish to be released from the shackles of clay. At one time she remarked, that while suffering much bodily pain she had been comparing her situation with that of the poor slaves and when she thought of them, driven to their toil without regard to health or condition, or left to perish neglected in their wretched hovels, and then turned to her own condition, surrounded by kind friends, anxious to do whatever could be done for her comfort, she felt that she could not repine.

She continued to fail gradually till 4th day, the 16th instant, when she passed easily and quietly away. Her family, and especially her aged consort, feel deeply their bereavement. They deserve, and I trust will receive, the warm sympathy of their friends; but

"Though friendship can a soothing balm impart
'Tis woman alone can heal the mourner's heart."

Fare the well! now gone forever
From Earth's dark, tempestuous shore,
Safe we trust thy bark has anchored,
Where the storm shall beat no more,

In that calm and peaceful haven,
Those for whom thy heart went forth,
Trodden down and overladen,
The oppressed and wronged of earth,

There shall meet thee, all unfettered,
Where no Tyrant proud shall be,
But the Slave shall from his Master,
Henceforth evermore be free.

There we trust the voice shall greet thee,
"Inasmuch as warm and free
Flowed thy feelings for the afflicted,
They were given unto me!"

Rest thee, dear departed spirit.
In the mansions of the blest,
Where the wicked cease from troubling.
And the weary are at rest."—S. W.

NORTH EASTON, 4th mo. 21st, 1851.

REFORM CONVENTION AT MILTON, ULSTER COUNTY.

☞ A Convention of the Friends of Reform will be held at Milton, Ulster County, New-York, on

Saturday and Sunday, 10th and 11th inst.

Various questions of moral and religious Reform, and, prominent among them, that of Anti-Slavery, will engage the attention of the Convention.

LUCRETIA MOTT, THOMAS MCCLINTOCK, JOSEPH DUGDALE, and other distinguished speakers, are expected to be present.

An earnest invitation is extended to all persons interested, to attend this Convention.

WESTMINSTER (Worcester Co.)

Saturday and Sunday, May 3 and 4.

☞ This Convention will be held in connection with the annual meeting of the Worcester County (North) Anti-Slavery Society and will be attended by STEPHEN S. FOSTER, PARKER PILLSBURY, and other speakers.

WEST DUXBURY, (Plymouth Co.)

Sunday May 4.

☞ This meeting will be held in Bosworth's Hall, and will be attended by NATH'L H. WHITING, LUCY STONE, and others.

SCITUATE, (Plymouth Co.)

Saturday Evening and Sunday, May 10 and 11.

☞ This meeting will be held in the Town Hall, and will be attended by C. C. BURLEIGH, LUBY STONE, and others.

LUCY STONE.

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Southboro',	Friday,	April 25.
Pembroke,	Saturday,	May 3.
West Duxbury,	Sunday,	" 4.
South Abington,	Wednesday,	" 7.
South Weymouth,	Thursday,	" 8.
"	Friday,	" 9.
Scituate,	Sunday,	" 11.
Halifax,	Tuesday,	" 13.
Sunday,	Wednesday,	" 14.
Plympton,	Friday,	" 16.

THE SLAVE 'PERRY'—HIS FREE PAPERS.

The slave known by the name of Perry Wilson, formerly owned by Georgiana Sleeper, of Baltimore, which place he left in 1847 or 1848, and when last heard from was at the Parker House, New Bedford, is informed that he can have his free papers by calling upon Ellis Gray Loring, 27 State street, or at G. W. Sleeper's 130 Washington street.

The press will confer a great favor on the said Perry by giving an insertion to the substance of the above.

THE BRITISH PERIODICALS AND

MISCELLANY.

From Dickens' 'Household Words.'

DREAMS.

When we picture to ourselves a person lying in a state of profound sleep—the body slightly curved upon itself; the limbs relaxed; the head reclining on its pillow; and eyelids closed—it is wonderful to think what strange and startling imagery may be passing through the brain of that apparently unconscious being. The events of his whole life may hurry past him in dim obscurity; he may be revisited by the dead; he may be transported into regions he never before beheld; and his ideas, visibly assuming phantasmal shapes, may hover round him like shadows reflected from another and more spiritual state of existence.

Let us draw the curtains gently aside, and study the physiognomy of sleep.

The countenance may, occasionally, be observed lighted up, as it were, from within by a passing dream—its expression is frequently one of peculiar mildness and benignity; the breathing may be slow, but it is calm and uniform; the pulse not so rapid as in the waking state, but soft and regular; the composure of the whole body may continue trance-like and perfect. There is, indeed, no sign of innocence more touching than the smile of a sleeping infant. But, suddenly, this state of tranquility may be disturbed; the dreamer changes his position and becomes restless; he moans grievously—perhaps sobs—and tears may be observed glimmering underneath his eyelids; his whole body now seems to be shaken by some inward convulsion; but, presently, the strife abates; the storm-cloud gradually passes; he stretches his limbs, opens his eyes, and, as he awakes, daylight, in an instant, dispels the vision, perhaps leaving not behind the faintest trace or recollection of a single incident which occurred in this mysterious state.

But what are dreams? Whence come they? What do they portend? Not man only, but all animals, it is presumed, dream, more or less, when they are asleep. Horses neigh, and sometimes kick violently; cows, when suckling their young calves, often utter piteous lowings; dogs bark in suppressed tones, and, from the motions of their paws, appear to fancy themselves in the field of the chase; even frogs, particularly during summer, croak loudly and discordantly until midnight, and then retire, and become silent. Birds also dream; and will sometimes, when frightened, fall from their roosting perch, or flutter about their cage, in evident alarm. A bullfinch, says Bechstein, belonging to a lady, was subject to very frightful dreams, which made it drop off its perch; but no sooner did it hear the voice of its affectionate mistress than it became immediately tranquil and reascended its perch to sleep again. It is pretty certain that parrots dream. It is, indeed, a curious circumstance that the best way of teaching this bird to talk is to cover the cage over so as to darken it, and while he is going to sleep pronounce, audibly and slowly, the word he is to learn; if the winged pupil be a clever one, he will, upon the repetition of the lesson, in a morning or two, begin to repeat it.

Upon the same principle, school-boys commit their tasks to memory by reading them over the last thing before they go to bed. It is to be remembered that during sleep the mind may not be wholly under eclipse: for, although some of its faculties—such as perception, comparison, judgment, and especially the will—may be suspended, others (for example, Memory and Imagination) are often more active than in the waking state. But some persons, it is said, never dream. We are assured by Locke that he knew a gentleman who had an excellent memory, yet could not recollect ever having dreamed until his twenty-sixth year. Dr. Reid, for many years before his death, had no recollection of having ever dreamed. Dr. Elliotson also relates, apparently upon good authority, the case of a man who never dreamed until after he had a fever in his fortieth year; and we ourselves know several persons who are not conscious of ever dreaming. Nevertheless, many contend that in all such cases dreams really occur, but that they escape the recollection; for they contend that it is impossible that the mind cannot, being an independent principle, ever be in a state of absolute rest. This is arguing within a very narrow circle. We must not forget that the intimate alliance of the mind with the body, subjects it to its general laws; the "heat oppressed brain" requires rest to renew its energies, and the mind, of which it is the organ, in the meantime, may, as in profound sleep, remain perfectly quiescent. The lids of the outward senses are closed; a veil is drawn over the immaterial principle of our nature; and mind and body alike, for a period, lie in a state of utter unconsciousness.

Here, however, it may fairly be asked, how happens it that the same persons will at one time remember, and, at another, forget his dreams? This circumstance may, we conceive, thus be explained:

Those dreams which occur in very deep sleep, and in the early part of the night, are not so likely to be remembered as those which happen towards morning, when the sleep is less profound; hence the popular notion that our morning dreams—which are always best remembered—are likely to prove true. Then, again, the imagery of some dreams is more striking, and actually makes a deeper impression than the incidents of other dreams. We are told by Sir Humphrey Davy that, on one occasion, a dream was so strongly impressed upon his eye, that even after he had risen and walked out, he could not be persuaded of its unreal nature, until his friends convinced him of its impossibility. The effect of some dreams upon children is very remarkable; they are, it is believed, more liable to dreams of terror than grown persons, which may be accounted for by their being more subject to a variety of internal complaints, such as teething, convulsions, derangement of the bowels, &c.; added to which, their reasoning faculties are not as yet sufficiently developed to correct such erroneous impressions. Hence, sometimes, children appear, when they awake, bewildered and distressed, and remain for a considerable period in a state of agitation almost resembling delirium. The incidents which are conceived in dreams are indeed not unfrequently confounded by adults with real events; hence, we often hear people, in alluding to some doubtful circumstance, exclaim, "Well! if it be not true, I certainly must have dreamed it." We confess we have ourselves been puzzled in this way; the spell may be broken; but the impression made by the delusion still clings to us; its shadow is still thrown across our path.

The question therefore recurs, what are Dreams? Whence do they arise? We believe that the ideas and emotions which take place in the dreaming state may be ascribed to a twofold origin. They may arise from certain bodily sensations, which may suggest particular trains of thought and feeling; or they may be derived from the operations or activity of the thinking principle itself; in which case they are purely mental. The celebrated Dr. James Gregory—whose premature death was a great loss to science—states, that having gone to bed with a vessel of hot water at his feet, he dreamt of walking up the crater of Mount Etna, and felt the ground warm under him. He likewise, on another occasion, dreamt of spending a winter at Hudson's Bay, and of suffering much distress from intense frost: and found, when he awoke, that he had thrown off the bedclothes in his sleep, and exposed himself to cold. He had been reading, a few days before, a very particular account of this colony. The eminent metaphysician, Dr. Reid, relates of himself that the dressing of a blister, which he had applied to his head, becoming ruffled, so as to produce pain, he dreamt that he had fallen into the hands of a party of North American Indians, who were scalping him. These were dreams suggested by sensations which were conveyed from the surface of the body, through the nerves, until a corresponding impression was produced on the mind. Upon the same principle, very strong impressions received during the day may modify and very materially influence the character of our dreams at night. Dr. Beattie states that once, after riding thirty miles in a very high wind, he passed a night of dreams which were so terrible that he found it expedient to keep himself awake, that he might no longer be tormented with them. "Had I been superstitious," he observes, "I should have thought that some disaster was impending; but it occurred to me that the tempestuous weather I had encountered the preceding day might be the cause of all these horrors." Other and less obvious causes are in constant operation. A change in the weather—in the electrical state of the atmosphere—and its barometrical pressure—the temperature of the bedroom—arrangements of the bed-furniture—the adjustment of the bed-clothes—nay, the position of the sleeper, particularly if he cramp a foot or benumb an arm, will at once affect the entire concatenation and issue of his dreams.

Furthermore. Impressions may be made on the mind during sleep, by speaking gently to a person or even whispering in the ear. We ourselves, when in Italy, could on one occasion trace the origin of a very remarkable dream to our having heard, in an obscure and half-conscious manner, during sleep, the noise of people in the streets, on All Souls' night, invoking alms for the dead. Dr. Beattie knew a man in whom any kind of dream could be produced if his friends, gently addressing him, afforded the subject-matter for his ideas. Equally curious is the circumstance that dreams may be produced by whispering in the ear. A case of this description is recorded by Dr. Abercrombie:

"An officer, whose susceptibility of having his dreams thus conjured before him, was so remarkable, that his friends could produce any kind of dream they pleased, by softly whispering in his ear, especially if this were done by one with whose voice he was familiar. His companions were in the constant habit of amusing themselves at his expense. On one occasion they conducted him through the whole progress of a quarrel, which ended in a duel; and when the parties were supposed to meet, a pistol was put into his hand, which he fired off in his sleep, and was awakened by the report. On another, they found him asleep on the top of a locker or bunker in the cabin, when, by whispering, they made him believe he had fallen overboard: and they then exhorted him to save himself by swimming. He immediately imitated the motions of swimming. They then suggested to him that he was being pursued by a shark, and entreated him to dive for is life. This he did, or rather attempted, with so much violence, that he threw himself off the locker, by which he was bruised, and, of course, awakened." Dr. Abercrombie adds, that the most remarkable circumstance connected with this case was, that after these and a variety of other pranks had been played upon him, "he had no distinct recollection of his dreams, but only a confused feeling of oppression or fatigue, and used to tell his friends that he was sure they had been playing some tricks upon him."

It appears, also—and the fact is very remarkable—that a similar kind of sensation will produce the same description of dream in a number of individuals at the same time. Hence different people will sometimes have the same dream. We read of a whole regiment starting up in alarm, declaring they were dreaming that a black dog had jumped upon their breasts and disappeared, which curious circumstance was explained by the discovery, that they had all been exposed to the influence of a deleterious gas, which was generated in the monastery. The effect of music, also, in exciting delightful dreams, has often been attested. A French philosopher whose experiments are reported by Magendie, according to the airs which he had arranged should be played while he was asleep, could have the character of his dreams directed at pleasure. "There is an art," says Sir Thomas Browne—in his usual quaint style—"to make dreams as well as their interpretations; and physicians will tell us that some food makes turbulent, some gives quiet dreams. Cato, who doated upon cabbage, might find the crude effects thereof; and Pythagoras might have had calmer sleeps if he had totally abstained from beans."

The influence of the day's occurrences, and the thoughts which have occupied the mind during the day, have been said to give a corresponding tone and coloring to our dreams at night. Thus the lover dreams of his mistress; the miser of his gold; the merchant of his speculations; the man of science of his discoveries. The poets of all ages and nations adopt this view. Virgil describes Dido forsaken by Æneas, wandering alone on a desert shore in pursuit of the Tyrians. Milton represents Eve relating to Adam the dreams which were very naturally the repetition of her waking thoughts. Petrarch invokes the beauty of Laura. Eloisa, seperated from Abelard, is again happy in his company, even amidst "dreary wastes" and "low-browed rocks."

There can be no doubt that the dreams of many persons are very greatly influenced by the reflections and emotions they have experienced the preceding day; but this is by no means invariably the case. We have known persons whose dreams refer habitually to events which occurred to them, perhaps, twenty years ago, and upon whom recent events seems to possess no such influence. We have often been told by ladies happily and affectionately married, that while they were engaged, although their thoughts were naturally much set on their engagement, they never dreamt of their lovers. So, also, the father of a family, habitually impressed with a sense of his responsibility and affection towards his offspring, will sometimes dream often enough of his neighbor's children, but seldom, or, perhaps, never, of his own. Try to dream on a given subject—resolve and fix the attention upon it—going to sleep, and no sooner are our eylids closed, than fantastic fancy will conjure up the most opposite and incongruous imagery. We have heard this dream-problem explained by referring it to a principle of *antagonism*, which, waking or sleeping, may be observed in the animal economy. If a limb become fatigued by remaining too long in one position, it will be relieved by being thrown into the very opposite condition; if the eye fatigue itself by gazing intently on the disc of any bright color, and the eyelids close, the very opposite, or antagonistic color will be depicted upon the retina in like manner, when our waking thoughts—in connetion with the nerve matter, which is their material instrument—have exhausted their energy, we can easily conceive how the very opposite condition will be produced. Hence the most unconnected and preposterous train of imagery may arise from the very earnestness with which we desire a contrary effect. We dream of events which do not concern us, instead of those in which we are most deeply interested; we dream of persons to whom we are indifferent, instead of those to whom we are attached. But, in the midst of all this curious and perplexing contrariety, it is remarkable—and may be esteemed a proof of the immateriality of the mind—that we always preserve the consciousness of our own identity. No man dreams that he is woman, or any other person than himself; we have heard of persons who have dreamt they were dead, and in a spiritual state; but the spirit was still their own—they maintained their identity. Sir Thomas Lawrence once made an interesting observation on this subject to Mrs. Butler—then Miss Fanny Kemble: he pointed out, in conversation, that he never heard of any lady who ever dreamed that she was younger than she really was. We retain in our dreams even the identity of our age. It has been said—we think by Sir Thomas Browne—that some parsons of virtuous and honorable principles will commit, as they fancy, actions in their dreams which they would shudder at in their waking moments: but we cannot believe that the identity of moral goodness can be so perverted in the dreaming state. We can, however, readily conceive that, when the mind is oppressed, or disturbed by the recollection of some event it dreads to dwell upon, it may be disturbed by the most terrific and ghastly images. A guilty conscience, too, will unquestionably produce restlessness, agitation, and awe-inspiring dreams. Hence Manfred, in pacing restlessly his lonely Gothic gallery at midnight, pictures to himself the terrors of Sleep:

> "The lamp must be replenished; even then
> It will not burn so long as I must watch.
> My slumbers, if I slumber, are not sleep,
> *But a continuance of enduring thought,*
> *Which then I can resist not. In my heart*
> *There is a vigil; and these eyes*
> *But close to look within.*"

Contrition and remorse oppose his rest. If we remember right, it was Bishop Newton, who remarked that the sleep of innocence differed essentially from the sleep of guilt.

The assistance supposed to be sometimes furnished in sleep towards the solution of problems which puzzled the waking sense, opens up a curious subject of investigation. Cases of the kind have been recorded upon undoubted authority. Hence some philosophers, like Sir Thomas Browne and Addison, have been induced to suppose that the soul in this state is partially disengaged from the encumbrance of the body, and therefore more intelligent, which is a mere fancy—a poetical fiction. Surely it is absurd to suppose that the soul, which we invest with such high and perfect attributes, should commit such frivolous and irrational acts as those which takes place so constantly in our dreams. "Methinks," observed Locke, "every drowsy nod shakes this doctrine." All we remark, is, that some of the ordinary mental faculties act in such cases with increased energy. But beyond this we can't go. We are informed by Cabains, that Franklin on several occasions mentioned to him that he had been assisted in his dreams on the issue of many affairs in which he was engaged. So, also, Condillac, while writing his "Cours d'Etudes" states that he was frequently obliged to leave a chapter incomplete, and retire to bed: and that on waking, he found it, on more than one occasion, finished in his head. Condorcet upon leaving his deep and complicated calculations unfinished, after having retired to rest, often found their results unfolded to him in his dreams. Voltaire assures us that he, like La Fontaine, composed verses frequently in his sleep, which he remembered on awaking. Doctor Johnson states that he once in a dream had a contest of wit with some other person, and that he was very much mortified by imagining that his opponent had the better of him. Coleridge, in a dream, composed the wild and beautiful poem of "Kubla Khan," which was suggested to him by a passage he was reading in "Purchas's Pilgrimage" when he fell asleep. On awaking he had a distant recollection of the whole, and, taking his pen, ink, and paper, instantly and eagerly wrote down the lines which have been so much admired.

One of the most striking circumstances connected with the human mind is the extreme lightning-like rapidity of its thoughts, even in our waking hours; but the transactions which appear to take place in our dreams are accomplished with still more incalculable rapidity; the relations of space, the duration of time, appear to be alike annihilated; we are transported in an instant to the most distant regions of the earth, and the events of ages are condensed into the span of a few seconds. The accidental jarring of a door, or any noise, will, at the same moment it awakens a person, suggest the incidents of an entire dream. Hence some persons — Lord Brougham in particular—have supposed that all our dreams take place in the transition or interval between sleep and waking. A gentleman dreamt that he had enlisted as a soldier, joined his regiment, deserted, was apprehended, carried back, tried, condemned to be shot, and, at last, led out for execution. After all the usual preparations a gun was fired; he awoke with the report, and found that a noise in an adjoining room had, in the same moment, produced the dream and awakened him. The same want of any notion of the duration of time occurs, more or less, in all dreams; hence our ignorance whence we awake of the length of the night. A friend of Dr. Abercrombie's dreamt that he crossed the Atlantic and spent a fortnight in America. In embarking, on his return, he fell into the sea, and, awakening with the fright, discovered he had not been ten minutes asleep. "I lately dreamed," says Dr. Macnish, "that I made a voyage—remained some days in Calcutta—returned home—then took ship for Egypt, where I visited the cataracts of the Nile, Grand Cairo, and the Pyramids; and, to crown the whole, had the honor of an interview with Mahomet Ali, Cleopatra, and Alexander the Great." All this was the work of a single hour, or even a few minutes. In one of the dreams whice Mr. De Quincey describes—when under the influence of opium—"the sense of Space and in the end of Time were," he states, "both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c., were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled, and was amplified to a sense of unutterable infinity. This, however, did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of Time; I sometimes seemed to have lived for seventy or one hundred years in one night; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a millenium, passed in that time; or, however, of a duration far beyond the limits of any human experience." One of the miracles of Mahomet appears to be illustrative of the same phenomenon. We read, in the Koran, that the angel Gabriel took Mahomet, one morning, out of his bed to give him a sight of all things in the Seven Heavens and in Paradise; and, after holding ninety thousand spiritual conferences, he was brought back again to his bed; all which was transacted in so small a space of time that Mahomet, upon his return, found his bed still warm.

Are dreams so much varied as is generally supposed? Or, taking into consideration our different mental and physical constitutions, is there not rather a remarkable sameness in them? It is certainly a very unusual circumstance to hear of any dream that does violence to the common experience of mankind. One class of dreams which may be termed Retrospective, is of frequent occurrence. These are characterised by the revival of associations long since forgotten. The facility of Memory appears to be præternaturally exalted: the veil is withdrawn which obscured the vista of our past life; and the minutest events of childhood pass in vivid review before us. There can be no doubt that something analogous to this occurs in drowning; when, after the alarm and struggle for life has subsided, sensations and visions supervene with indescribable rapidity. The same very remarkable phenomenon takes place also sometimes in hanging; but is by no means uniformly produced. "Of all whom I have seen restored from drowning," observes Dr. Lettsom, "I never found one who had the smallest recollection of anything that passed under water until the time they were restored." Persons must not, therefore, be deceived by imagining that an Elysium is to be found at the bottom of a garden well, or a canal, or a river.

But to return:—it is not only the very early incidents of childhood which may thus be recalled by our dreams, but recent events, which in our waking hours had escaped the memory, are sometimes suddenly recalled. In his "Notes to Waverly," Sir Walter Scott relates the following anecdote:—"A gentleman connected with a Bank in Glasgow, while employed in the occupation of cashier, was annoyed by a person, out of his turn, demanding the payment of a check for six pounds. Having paid him, but with reluctance, out of his turn, he thought no more of the transaction. At the end of the year, which was eight or nine months after, a difficulty was experienced in making the books balance, in consequence of a deficiency of six pounds. Several days and nights were exhausted in endeavors to discover the source of the error, but without success; and the discomfited and chagrined cashier retired one night to his bed, disappointed and fatigued. He fell asleep and dreamed he was at his Bank, and once again the whole scene of the annoying man and his six pound check arose before him; and, on examination, it was discovered that the sum paid to this person had been neglected to be inserted in the book of interests, and that it exactly accounted for the error in the balance." We read of another gentleman, a solicitor, who, on one occasion, lost a very important document connected with the conveyance of some property; the most anxious search was made for it in vain; and the night preceding the day on which the parties were to meet for the final settlement the son of this gentleman then went to bed, under much anxiety and disappointment, and dreamt that, at the time when the missing paper was delivered to his father, his table was covered with papers connected with the affairs of a particular client and there found the paper they had been in search of, which had been tied up in a parcel to which it was in no way related.

There is another class of dreams which would appear to be much more extraordinary than these—of a Retrospective Character, viz: those in which the dreamer appears to take cognizance of incidents which are occurring at a distance, which may be designated Dreams of Coincidence. In the "Memoirs of Margaret de Valois" we read, that her mother, Catherine de Medicis, when ill of the plague at Metz, saw her son, the Duc d'Anjou, at the victory of Jarnac thrown from his horse, and the Prince De Condé dead—events which happened exactly at that moment. Dr. Macnish relates, as the most striking example he ever met with of the co-existence between a dream and a passing event, the following melancholy story:—Miss M., a young lady, a native of Ross-shire, was deeply in love with an officer who accompanied Sir John Moore in the Peninsular War. The constant danger to which he was exposed had an evident effect upon her spirits. She became pale and melancholy in perpetually brooding over his fortunes; and, in spite of all that reason could do, felt a certain conviction that, when she last parted from her lover, she had parted with him forever. In a surprisingly short period her graceful form declined into all the appalling characteristics of a fatal illness, and she seemed rapidly hastening to the grave, when a dream confirmed the horrors she had long anticipated and gave the finishing stroke to her sorrows. One night, after falling asleep, she imagined she saw her lover, pale, bloody, and wounded in the breast, enter her apartment. He drew aside the curtains of the bed, and, with a look of the utmost mildness, informed her that he had been slain in battle, desiring her at the same time to comfort herself, and not take his death too seriously to heart. It is needless to say what influence this vision had upon a mind so replete with woe. It withered it entirely, and the poor girl died a few days afterwards, but, not without desiring her parents to note down the day of the month on which it happened, and see if it would not be confirmed as she confidently declared it would. Her anticipation was correct, for accounts were shortly afterwards received that the young man was slain at the battle of Corunna, which was fought on the very day of the night of which his betrothed had beheld the vision. It is certainly very natural to suppose that there must be some mysterious connection between such a dream and the event which appears to have simultaneously taken place—but, upon reflecting farther upon the subject, we shall find that the co-existence is purely accidental. If, as Sir Walter Scott observed, any event, such as the death of the person dreamt of, chance to take place, so as to correspond with the nature and time of the apparition, the circumstance is conceived to be supernatural, although the coincidence is one which must frequently occur, since our dreams usually refer to the accomplishment of that which haunts our minds when awake, and often presage the most probable events. Such a concatenation, therefore, must often take place when it is considered "of what stuff dreams are made," and how naturally they turn upon those who occupy our mind when awake. When a soldier is exposed to death in battle; when a sailor is incurring the dangers of the sea; when a beloved wife or relative is attacked by disease, how readily our sleeping imagination rushes to the very point of alarm which, when waking, it had shuddered to anticipate. Considering the many thousands of dreams which must, night after night, pass through the imagination of individuals, the number of coincidences between the vision and the event are fewer and less remarkable than a fair calculation of chance would warrant us to expect.

In addition to these, we sometimes hear of dreams which appear to reveal the secrets of futurity; and which may be designated Prophetic Dreams—unveiling, as they are supposed to do, the destiny which awaits particular individuals. The prophetic dream of Cromwell, that he should live to be the greatest man in England, has often been referred to as an example of special revelation; but surely there can be nothing very wonderful in the occurrence—for, after all, if we could only penetrate into the thoughts, hopes, and designs which inflamed the ambition of such men as Ireton, Lambert, and the like, we should find both their waking and sleeping visions equally suggestive of self-aggrandisement. The Protector himself was not the only usurper, in these troubled times, who dreamed of being "every inch a king;" but we want the data to compute the probabilities which the laws of chance would give in favor of such a prophecy or dream being fulfilled. The prophetic dream refers generally to some event which, in the course of nature, is likely to happen: is it, then, wonderful that it should occur? It would be curious to know how often Napoleon dreamed that he was the Emperor of the civilized world, or confined as a prisoner of war; how many thrones he imagined himself to have ascended or abdicated; how often he accomplished the rebuilding of Jerusalem. A few years ago, some very cruel murders were perpetrated in Edinburgh, by men named Barke and Hare, who sold the bodies of their victims to the Anatomical Schools. We had ourselves an interview with Burke, after his condemnation, when he told us that many months before he was apprehended and convicted, he used to dream that the murders he committed had been discovered; then he imagined himself going to be executed, and his chief anxiety was how he should comport himself on the scaffold before the assembled multitude, whose faces he beheld gazing up and fixed upon him. His dream was, in every respect, verified; but who, for an instant, would suppose there could have been anything præternatural, or prophetic, in such a vision? For the most part, dreams of this description are supposed to portend the illness, or the time of the death, of particular individuals; and these, too, upon the simple doctrine of chance, turn out, perhaps, to be as often wrong as right. It may be true, that Lord Lyttleton died at the exact hour which he said had been predicted to him in a dream; but Voltaire outlived a similar prophecy for many years. It must, however, be conceded, that persons in ill-health may have their death expedited by believing in such fatal predictions. Tell a timorous man that he will die; and the sentence, if pronounced with sufficient solemnity, and the semblance of its foreknowledge, will, under certain circumstances, execute itself. But, on the other hand, the self-sustaining power of the will, with a corresponding concentration of nervous energy, will sometimes triumph over the presence of disease, and for awhile ward off even the hand of death. The anecdote is told of Muley Moloch, who, being informed that his army was likely to be defeated, sprang from his sick bed in great excitement, led his men on to victory, and, on returning to his tent, lay down and almost instantly expired.

But again it may be asked—what then do dreams portend? Do they admit of any rational interpretation? This branch of the art of divination, which was called formerly by the name of "Oneiromancy," has been practiced in all ages; and there is, perhaps, not a village in Great Britain, or on the great continent of Europe, India, or America, in which some fortune-telling old woman will not be found who professes to be an oracle in propounding their mystical signification. The magicians of old were supposed to be skilful interpreters of dreams, which, like the wiseacres of Christendom, they viewed under very contradictory aspects.

From one of the most ancient Arabic manuscripts on the subject, we learn that if you see an angel, it is a good sign; but if you dream that you converse with one, it forbodes evil—to dream you bathe in a clear fountain denotes joy—but if it be muddy, an enemy will bring against you some false accusation. To dream of carrying any weight upon the back denotes servitude, if you are rich—honor if you are poor. There is not an object in nature—not an event that can occur in life—that our modern fortune-tellers have not converted, when seen in a dream, into some sign ominous of good or of evil; and many even well-educated persons are in the habit of fostering their credulity by attaching an undue importance to their dreams. It is a curious circumstance, however, which militates against this mystic art, that the same sign in different countries carries with it a very contrary signification. The peasant girl in England thinks, if she dream of a rose, that it is a sure sign of happiness; but the *paysanne* in Normandy believes that it portends vexation and disappointment. The Englishman conceives that to dream of an oak-tree is a sign of prosperity; but in Switzerland, the same vision is thought to be a forewarning of some dreadful calamity.

The domestic superstitions which are connected with dreams, are sometimes favored by, and perhaps dependent upon, a certain morbid condition or irritability of the nervous system, which suggests the dread of some impending calamity, a painful and indefinite sense of apprehension for which no ostensible reason can be assigned. Strange as it might appear, the influence of our dreams upon our waking state is very remarkable; we may awaken refreshed from a dream which has made us, in our sleep, superlatively happy; or we may rise with melancholic feelings after suffering intense affliction in some dream, and the details of both dreams may alike be forgotten. We cannot, after being so much disturbed, at once regain our composure; the billows continue heaving after the tempest has subsided; the troubled nerves continue to vibrate after the causess that disturbed them have ceased to act; the impression still remains, and chequers the happiness of the future day. Even men of strong mind, who do not believe in the interpretation of dreams, may be so affected. When Henry the Fourth of France was once told by an astrologer that he would be assassinated, he smiled at the prediction, and did not believe it; but he confessed that it often haunted him afterwards, and although he placed no faith in it, still it sometimes depressed his spirits, and he often expressed a wish that he had never heard it. In like manner, dreams, which persons do not believe in, will unconsciously affect the tenor of their thoughts and feelings.

There are many persons who appear to have habitually the most extraordinary dreams, and there is scarcely a family circle that assemble round the domestic hearth, in which some one or other of the party is not able to relate some very wonderful story. We have, ourselves, a *repertoire*, from which we could select a host of such narrations; but we have preferred, at the risk of being thought recapitulative, to dwell upon those which have been recorded upon unimpeachable authority. The dreams which men like Locke, Reid, Gregory, Abercrombie, Macnish, &c., have attested, come with a weight of evidence before us which the dreams of persons unknown in the scientific or literary world would not possess. The impressions produced by dreams are so fugitive—so easy is it for persons unintentionally to deceive themselves in recalling their dreams' experience—that Epictetus, long ago, advised young men not to entertain any company by relating their dreams, as they could only, he affirmed, be interesting to themselves, and perhaps would, after all their pains, be disbelieved by their auditors. Nevertheless, it would be well for all persons to study, whether waking or dreaming, the phenomena of their own minds. The ingenius naturalist, Dr. Fleming, suggest that persons should, in contra-distinction to a "Diary," keep a "Nocturnal," in which they should register their dreams. Doubtless such a journal might turn out to be a very amusing Psychological record.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE QUEEN CAROLINE TO HER DAUGHTER, THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

The following is taken from a volume of letters, written by the late Queen Caroline, which (although, for certain reasons, not permitted at the time to be published), may be regarded as the genuine production of that unhappy Queen, whom Lord Brougham has characterized as a woman of deep discernment and extraordinary talent. She died, after few days' illness, at Brandenburg House, near London.—The Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. and Queen Caroline, was born in 1796. It is said, that, as the Princess grew up, she appeared to have but little of the vanity peculiar to many of her sex as to personal ornaments, aiming at little beyond neatness and simplicity in her dress; and, in her demeanour, she was particularly chaste and circumspect. On her marriage with the Prince of Coburg, in 1816, they both concurred in preferring a country life, and their seat at Claremont was adorned by their taste in landscape gardening and rural improvements.—Thus situated, for about twelve months, their short-lived happiness in this world terminated by the decease of the Princess, in 1817.

. . . . . "Fortunately for mankind, there has arisen, out of a vile system of disputation and anarchy, of belief and disbelief, a religion, called the religion of the Quakers; and although the great of this world have nothing to do with this simple and original manner of worship, I shall make a few remarks upon it, because I am conscious you are, as yet, ignorant of its beauty, importance, and truth. It appears to me, my Charlotte, that the progress made by this interesting people above all other sects, in simplifying Christianity, and freeing it from those mixtures which have so much disguised and abused it, has been so extraordinary, that it may justly set them at the head of the reformers, and stamp them with a decisive character, in which their little peculiarities of manners are unworthy of notice or remark.

"In the first place, they are the only sect who admit of no priests or ministers, as a separate order of men, into their constitution—an advantage of so capital a nature, that it is well worth purchasing by the institution of a distinct society for that direct purpose only; for what a legion of evils does this at once cut off! Not to mention the greater mischiefs, which the struggles for wealth and power by an established clergy, have, in all countries, occasioned; are not their rivalries, their parties, their controversies, their interests, and their intermeddlings, the bane of concord and brotherly affection, in all the communities of separatists? Does not their inordinate authority frequently as much infringe on the rights and liberties of private congregations, as it always does on that of national churches? Do they not afford a ready means of laying, at the feet of power, the political influence of dissenting bodies? That it never was in the contemplation of the Divine Founder of the Christian religion to institute such a body of men, and that the supposed necessity of them is contradictory to the belief in a Divine revelation, freely and clearly communicated in writing, I am, myself, perfectly convinced, as well as that the corruptions, forgeries, and interpolations, date from their establishment.

"Secondly, I find the Quakers are the only people who have completely detached religion from state policy; and thereby avoided that detestable convocation of dissimilar interests, which have never failed to spoiled and calumniate both. They have confined religion to its proper province—that of amending the hearts and the lives of men; and abhorred the plan of making it subservient to the narrow and temporary purposes of a party or a government.—They have not dared to enlist the Almighty in the service of a particular nation, or to point his thunders against their fellow-creatures, merely because their worldly interests were interfered with. They have not set apart days for the religious celebration or commemoration of public events; the final consequence of which no man can forsee, and which are regarded with totally different feelings by different parties. Keeping their own hands unstained with blood, they have viewed the shedding of blood, by others, as a subject of humiliation rather than thanksgiving; and, if they offer prayers for national blessings, it is for those of peace, brotherly love, and righteousness, in which they desire that all mankind should equally participate, and as strenuously endeavor to effect.

"Thirdly, although I do not know that they differ from other Christians in regard to the efficacy of prayer and the interposition of Providence in human affairs or concerns, yet I can see that they are much more wary and reserved than others in making petitions for particular favors, and hence, according to my judgement, they preserve a greater consistency in the theory of the Divine perfections, and inculcate a more tranquil and reverential submission to the will of the Deity. In this respect they are a strong contrast to some other sects, whose copious and minute addresses to heaven often degenerate into indecent familiarity and a querulous importunity.

"Fourthly, by boldly discarding, instead of endeavoring to simplify and rationalize those rites of religion which from a kind of emblematical veil thrown about them, will always be abused and misunderstood by the vulgar and fanciful, they have eradicated from amongst themselves a vast mass of superstition and error, from which no sect that retains them is entirely free, and which, in some, has almost overwhelmed all that is valuable in revelation. How far they are justified, from the authority of Scripture, in doing this, I do not now inquire; but the advantage of having got rid of such an inlet to false opinion, must be manifest to all who are capable of making comparisons, and of valuing the peace and concord of mankind. On the whole, it appears to me, that no society of Christians ever acquired the essentials of religion at so cheap a rate, or in so pure a form: and these privileges are so intrinsically valuable that I should not doubt of the ability of such a society to maintain its ground. . . . . In regard to their little peculiarities, their dress, in particular, should never be renounced; its simplicity may expose them to the ridicule of fools, but it will secure them the esteem of the wise and good.

"That you may be of the latter number, is the prayer of CAROLINE."

From Fraser's Magazine.

An Inedited Letter of Edward Gibbon.*

The following is an inedited letter of the celebrated author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. It was addressed to his friend M. D'Eyverdun (who was at that time at Leipsig), and has lately been found among a mass of papers in the house which M. D'Eyverdun possessed at Lausame, and where Mr. Gibbon resided several years.

LONDON, May 7, 1776.

To M. D'Eyverdun, at Leipsig:

My long silence towards you has been occasioned (if I have properly analyzed what has lately passed in my mind) by different reasons. During the summer there was indolence and procrastination; since the opening of Parliament the necessity of finishing my book, and at the same time of subduing America. I have been involved in a multitude of public, private and literary business, such as I had never experienced in the whole course of my life. The materials of my correspondence have gradually accumulated, and, despairing of being able to say any thing, I have wisely finished by saying nothing. Meantime, it is not necessary to inform my dear reader that I love him just as much as if I had written to him every week.

Where, then, shall I begin this letter? Can this question be put to a man who has just published his book? I shall speak of myself, and I shall enjoy the pleasure which renders the conversation of friends so delightful—the pleasure of talking of one's self with somebody who will take an interest in the subject. It is true I should greatly prefer conversing with you, walking backwards and forwards in my library, where I could, without blushing, make to you all the confessions which my vanity might prompt. But at this lamentable distance from London to Leipsig we cannot do without a confident, and the paper might one day disclose the little secrets which I am obliged to confide to you.

You know that the first volume of The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has had the most complete success, and the most flattering to the author. But I must take up the matter a little further back. I do not know whether you recollect that I had agreed with my bookseller for an edition of five hundred copies. This was a very moderate number; but I wished to learn the taste of the public, and to reserve to myself the opportunity of soon making, in a second edition, all the changes which the observations of critics and my own reflections might suggest. We had come, perhaps, to the twenty-fifth sheet, when my publisher and my printer, men of sense and taste, began to perceive that the work in question might be worth something, and that the said five hundred copies would not suffice for the demands of the British readers. They stated their reasons to me, and very humbly, but very earnestly, begged me to permit five hundred more to be printed. I yielded to their entreaties, not however, without fearing that the younger brothers of my numerous family might be condemned to an inglorious old age, in the obscurity of some warehouse. Meantime the printing went on; and, in spite of paternal affection, I sometimes cursed the attention which I was obliged to pay to the education of my children, to cure them of the little defects which the negligence of their preceptors had suffered to pass without correcting them.

At length, in the month of February, I saw the decisive hour arrive, and I own to you that it was not without some sort of uneasiness. I knew that my book was good, but I would have had it excellent; I could not rely on my own judgment, and I feared that of the public—that tyrant who often destroys in an instant the fruit of ten years' labor. At length, on the 16th of February, I gave myself to the universe, and the universe—that is to say, a small number of English readers—received me with open arms. In a fortnight, the whole edition was so completely exhausted that not a single copy was left. Mr. Cadell (my publisher) proposed to me to publish a second edition of 1,000 copies, and in a few days he saw reason to beg me to allow him to print 1,500 copies. It will appear at the beginning of next month; and he already ventures to promise me that it will be sold before the end of the year, and that he shall be obliged to importune me a third time. The volume — a handsome quarto—costs a guinea in boards; it has sold, as my publisher expresses it, like a sixpenny pamphlet on the affairs of the day.

I have hitherto contented myself with stating the fact, which is the least equivocal testimony in favor of the *History*. It is said that a horse alone does not flatter kings when they think fit to mount him, might we not add, that the bookseller is the only person who does not flatter authors when they take it into their heads to appear in print? But you conceive that from a small number of eager readers one alway find means to catch praises, and, for my part, I own to you that I am very fond of these praises; those of women of rank, especially when they are young and handsome, though not of the greatest weight, amuse me infinitely. I have had the good fortune to please some of these persons, and the ancient *History* of your learned friend has succeeded with them like a fashionable novel. Now hear what Robertson says in a letter which was not designed to fall into my hands:

"I have read (says he) Mr. Gibbon's *History* with great attention, and with singular pleasure. It is a work of great merit. We find in it that sagacity of research, without which an author does not merit the name of an historian. His narrative is clear and interesting; his style is elegant and vigorous, sometimes rather too labored, and, perhaps, studied; but these defects are amply compensated by the beauty of the language, and sometimes by a rare felicity of expression."

Now listen attentively to poor David Hume:

"After having read with impatience and avidity the first volume of your History, I feel the same impatience to thank you for your interesting present, and to express to you the satisfaction which this production has afforded me, under the several points of view, of the dignity of the style, the extent of your researches, the profound manner in which the subject is treated. This work is entitled to the highest esteem. You will feel pleasure, as I do myself, from hearing that all the men of letters in this city (Edinburgh) agree in admiring your work, and in desiring the continuation of it."

Do you know, too, that the Tacitus and Livy of Scotland have been useful to me in more ways than one? Our good English folk had long lamented the superiority which these historians had acquired, and, as national